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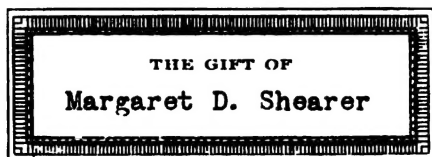
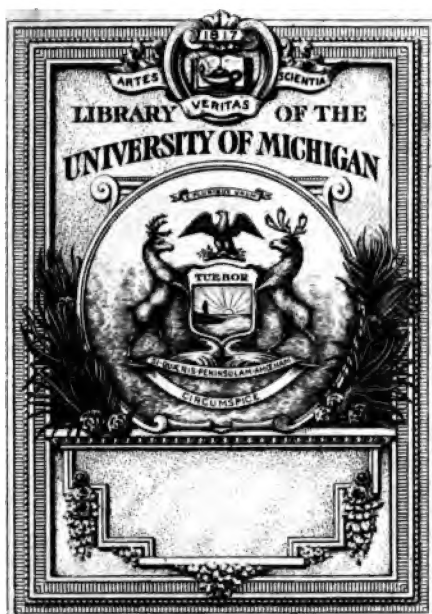
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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.



Harvard U. Stearns

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241809

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟ

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ΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

HERODOTUS VII.

WITH NOTES

BY

AGNATA F. BUTLER.

London

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1899.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Seventh Book of Herodotus opens with the arrival in Persia of the news of the battle of Marathon and the failure of the second Persian expedition against Greece. It may be well to review very briefly the relations of the two countries to each other up to this time.

In the earlier chapters of his First Book, Herodotus characteristically seeks for the origin of their quarrel in the seizure of the Argive Io by some Phoenicians. In retaliation for this outrage, certain Greeks, he says—he does not know their origin,—laid hands on Europa, and sailed away with her from Tyre. The enmity thus first roused between Europeans and Asiatics was further embittered by the carrying off of Medea from Colchis and of Helen from Sparta. From the Trojan War onwards, the Persians once for all regarded Greece as their enemy¹, Persia being the representative of Asia and Greece of Europe.

Passing from legend to historical fact, we find the two races brought into antagonism by the fall of the Lydian empire. Croesus, king of Lydia, had eagerly sought for intercourse with Greek life and thought in the Hellenic colonies in Asia Minor. With some of these he made leagues, others he subdued. Through the colonies he became acquainted with their mother country. So it was, that when he entered into conflict with the rising power of Persia under Cyrus, and felt himself on the brink of

¹ Ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι (λέγουσι Πέρσαι) τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμων. 1. 4

Herodotus

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secured the King's esteem, and was rewarded with the gift of Myrcinus on the Strymon. Being afterwards awakened to the danger of allowing this important point to be fortified and held by a Greek, Darius summoned Histiaeus to Susa, and, while loading him with honours, kept him there, a prisoner in all but name.

It was in the hope of procuring a release from this captivity, that Histiaeus sent the celebrated message of revolt to his son-in-law and deputy at Miletus, Aristagoras. After shaving the head of his most trustworthy slave, he branded on it the words which were to rouse the reader to rebellion. Then, having waited for the hair to grow again, he despatched him to Miletus, with the simple and unsuspecting message, that he should bid Aristagoras shave and examine his head. Aristagoras was already eager for revolt, on account of his own unsatisfactory relations with the Persian generals, Artaphernes and Megabates. With the latter he had openly quarrelled. A fruitless expedition against Naxos, which had been undertaken at his instance and under his guidance, had embroiled him also with the powerful Artaphernes, who was Satrap of Sardis and ruler of all the coast land.

From this point dates the outbreak of the "Ionian Revolt." Aristagoras himself, who had little difficulty in winning over his fellow townsmen, gave the signal for rebellion by seizing on those Tyrants who were known to be friendly to Persia, and establishing democracies in their cities. He then started for Sparta, where he tried in vain to bribe king Cleomenes into a promise to send help.

At Athens he was more successful. Twenty ships were promised and sent, those ships that were destined to breed woe to two continents¹. Soon after the arrival of these vessels, accompanied by five others from Eretria, followed the burning of Sardis by the Greeks. Darius at once realised

¹ Αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ βαρ-
βάροις. v. 97.

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he presented himself before Artaphernes. But the shrewd Satrap was less easily hoodwinked than his royal Master. In homely phrase he exposed the hypocrisy of the wily Greek and his confederacy with Aristagoras: "Ay, there were two parties to that shoe: *he* stepped into it, but *you* did the stitching"¹. Histiaeus required no further hint, but immediately fled to Chios. Thence, after an unsuccessful intrigue with certain influential Persians in Sardis, he attempted to return to his home. The Milesians, however, had by this time learnt to put no trust in Tyrants. Being at length well rid of Aristagoras, they were resolved to have no further dealings with his equally unscrupulous and more cunning father-in-law. Histiaeus, who had thus become an object of suspicion and distrust to both parties in the war, took refuge in Lesbos, where he persuaded the inhabitants to lend him ships and men. By means of these he established himself as a pirate at the mouth of the Black Sea. Subsequently, after the capture of Miletus, he fell into the hands of the Persians, during a ravaging foray in Mysia, and was promptly crucified by Artaphernes, who feared he might again win the confidence of Darius. These fears were soon justified, for the King received the news of the execution with grief and indignation, and caused the remains of his friend to be reverently interred.

Meanwhile the Persian commanders had resolved to bring the war to a close by concentrating their forces round Miletus, the source of the rebellion. The Greeks at once decided that resistance could be offered by sea only, and for this purpose mustered their fleet of three hundred and fifty three ships near the Island of Lade, before Miletus, to meet the Persian six hundred. Several days passed without fighting, the Persians endeavouring to sow treachery among the Greeks, while the Greeks, under the wise command of a Phocæan captain, daily

¹ Τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔβραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδέξατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης. VI. 1.

exercised and improved their tactics. On the eighth day, however, the unstable and undisciplined Ionians refused to carry out any further the directions of their leader. From that moment order was at an end, and treachery began its work. As the Phoenician ships sailed up to the attack, the Greek contingents one after another deserted and fled, the Samians leading the way; while the few that remained, among whom the Chians distinguished themselves by their bravery, were soon routed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy.

B.C.
494

Such was the battle of Lade, which was speedily followed by the capture and destruction of Miletus, and thus ended the Ionian Revolt, in the sixth year from its outbreak. The Ionian and Hellespontine cities were now thoroughly subjugated by the victorious army. Their buildings and shrines were set on fire. The choicest of their inhabitants were carried into captivity. Shortly afterwards the land was surveyed and assessed for a regular yearly tribute.

The rebellion thus stamped out, the Persians were once more able to turn their thoughts to conquest. Mardonius, a youthful and ambitious noble, son-in-law to the King, came down from Susa to take supreme command of an expedition to inflict chastisement on Athens and Eretria. The share which they had taken in the burning of Sardis had been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Great King. With a powerful fleet and army Mardonius proceeded along the Thracian coast as far as the peninsula of Mount Athos. Here a violent storm burst over the fleet. Dashing the ships upon the rocky shore, it destroyed three hundred of them and over twenty thousand lives. About the same time, Mardonius himself and his land force suffered severely in a night attack from a Thracian tribe, and, in consequence of this double disaster, all that remained of the armament was obliged to retreat in disgrace to Asia.

After the pause of a year, Darius resolved to be no

longer baffled in his purpose of vengeance. He dispatched heralds to all the chief states of Greece, asking for "earth and water" in token of submission. At the same time he gave orders for a muster of war-ships and transports on his own coasts.

From Athens and Sparta the heralds never returned. Their fate is recorded in Chap. 133 of Book VII. Many, however, of the mainland states, and all the islanders submitted to the King's demands. Foremost among the island states stood Aegina, the maritime rival and enemy of Athens, whom the Athenians accused to Sparta of treason to their country. After some delay, caused by dissensions between the two Spartan Kings, and the consequent deposition of Demaratus on the ground of doubtful birth, Aegina was punished by the removal of ten of her chief citizens as hostages to Athens, an event which finally led to war between the rivals.

Darius was now ready to follow up his schemes against Greece. The army and the transports had been mustered, and were placed under the command of Artaphernes, son of the Satrap of Sardis, and Datis, a Mede, accompanied by Hippias, the deposed Athenian Tyrant. The object of the expedition was first to subdue Naxos, which had formerly resisted the Persian arms, and thence to proceed against Athens and Eretria. The orders given were to burn the cities to the ground, and bring the inhabitants bound to Susa. For this purpose the whole force was to be transported by sea from Samos. After conquering Naxos and the other islands which they passed, sacred Delos alone excepted, the Persians arrived at Eretria, and, after a six days' siege, took the city by treachery, and fulfilled their master's commands by enslaving the Eretrians and setting fire to their temples.

Tidings of the impending danger soon reached Athens. A messenger was despatched to Sparta, to beg for immediate help. Fleet of foot, and inspired by the urgency of

Οὐκ ἔτλας, ὦ ῥίστε Λεωνίδα, αἴτις ἰκέσθαι
· Εὐρώταν, χαλεπῶ σπερχόμενος πολέμῳ·
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Θερμοπύλαισι τὸ Περσικὸν ἔθνος ἀμύνων
ἐδάδαθης, πατέρων ἀζόμενος νόμιμα.

PHAENUS, *Anthologia Graeca*.

Non dignatus eras, Vir magne, revisere tutus
Eurotam, innumero pressus ab hoste, tuum.
Thermopylis Medos voluisti his finibus arcens,
Servata patrum religione, mori.

H. M. B.

Not thine, brave Chief—to live thou wouldst not deign—
Home to Eurotas' bank to turn again.
By the Strait Pass, lone warder, didst thou stand,
To bar the stranger from the freeman's land.
There didst thou fall; there, loyal, thou wast laid,
True liegeman of the laws thy fathers made.

H. M. B.

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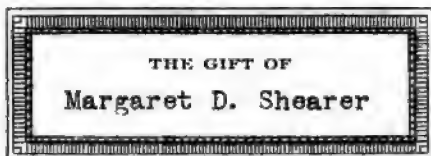
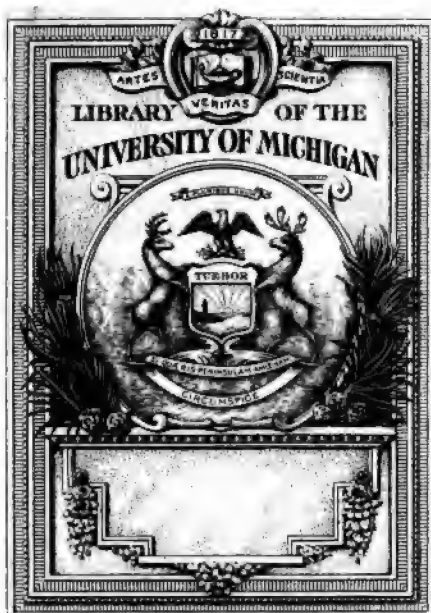
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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.



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1891

ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, ^{ὡς ἔστιν} 5
οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖφ καὶ πρό-
τερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς
προτέρης γυναικὸς, Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασι-
λεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσαρες.
τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης, 10
τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. εἶντες δὲ μητρὸς
οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης,
κατ' ὃ τι πρεσβύτατός τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου,
καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς 15
Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη, τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, καὶ
ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτήσάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν
ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδείκνυ-
μένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ ταῦτο
τούτοις καὶ Δημάρτητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,
ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν
Σπάρτῃ βασιλῆϊας, καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ ἐκ 5
Λακεδαιμόνος. οὗτος ὦν ἡρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου
παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει,
Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι,
ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖφ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ
ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι 10
ιδιώτῃ εἶντι Δαρεῖφ, οὐκ ὦν οὐτ' οἶκός εἶη οὔτε
δίκαιον, ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐωυτοῦ
ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρτητος ὑποτιθε-
μενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες
ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ 15
βασιλεύοντι ὀψέγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομέ-
νου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιλῆϊας γίνεσθαι. Χρησα-

3 Xerxes
named as
heir.

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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.



THE



ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

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ὥς εἰμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. Ἔστω
 45 δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.
 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλήνας τὴν Ξέρξῳ
 γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο.

Σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων, καὶ οὐ 10
 τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀν-
 τίνῃ τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Speech of
Artabanus
against the
expedition.
 Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ
 5 καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν, ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ
 λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι, οὐκ
 ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ
 εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι, λεχθισέων δὲ ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν
 χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐ
 10 διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ
 χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἡγόρευον·
 μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς
 ἄστυ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ, ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νο-
 15 μάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, στρα-
 τευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς
 ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ'
 ἀνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας,
 οἳ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν
 20 λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμέ
 σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. Ζεῦξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλή-
 σποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεκε ἢ τοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ ~~κατὰ~~
 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφό-
 25 τερα. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι·

πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε
 τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηϊ ἐλθοῦσαν
 ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μούνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.
 401. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· ἀλλ', ἣν τῆσι
 νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι 30
 ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέ-
 3 φυραν, τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. Ἐγὼ
 δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι,
 ἀλλ' οἶόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέξασε κατα-
 λαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατήρ σός ζεύξας Βόσπορον 35
 402. τὸν Θρηϊκίον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου,
 διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας· τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι
 δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέ-
 τραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου. καὶ
 τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο 40
 τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἡντιώθη,
 403. διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καὶ τοι καὶ
 λόγῳ ἀκούσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ
 404. βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. Σὺ ὦν μὴ βού-
 λευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μη- 45
 δεμῆς ἀνάγκης εἰσῆς· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν
 τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅταν τοι
 δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ, προαγόρευε
 τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι
 κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἐόν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιω- 50
 405. θῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσσον εὖ,
 ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ
 βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῶς, εἰ οἱ ἢ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο,
 εὖρημα εὖρηκε, ἔσσον δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευ-
 5 ται. Ὅρας τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ

θεὸς, οὐδὲ ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν
 κνίξει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὥς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ
 δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει
 γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολουεῖν. οὕτω
 60 δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται
 κατὰ τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ σφί οὗ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον
 ἐμβάλλῃ ἢ βροντῇ, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως
 ἑωυτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον
 ἢ ἑωυτόν. Ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυκτὶ πᾶν πρήγμα
 65 τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι
 γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ
 παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι
 τις ἄν. Σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβου-
 70 λεύω. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι
 λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἐόντων
 ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων
 ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ
 τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτε-
 75 λειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ
 δεινότατον, ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ
 ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ, οὐ
 παρεόντος κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος
 πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ
 λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθεὶς τε
 80 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου
 κακὸς εἶναι. Ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν
 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ
 ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα στρατη-
 85 λάτῃ αὐτὸς σὺ, ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς

ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, 5
οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρό-
τερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς
προτέρης γυναικὸς, Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασι-
λεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσαρες.
τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης, 10
τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἔόντες δὲ μητρὸς
οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης,
κατ' ὃ τι πρεσβύτατός τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου,
καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς 15
Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη, τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, καὶ
ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτήσάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν
ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδείκνυ-
μένου κω γνῶμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ ταῦτο
τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,
ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σούσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν
Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης, καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ ἐκ 5
Λακεδαίμονος. οὗτος ὠνήρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου
παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει,
Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι,
ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖω ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ
ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι 10
ιδιώτῃ ἔοντι Δαρεῖω, οὐκ ὦν οὐτ' οἰκὸς εἶη οὔτε
δίκαιον, ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐωυτοῦ
ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθε-
μενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες
ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ 15
βασιλεύοντι ὀψύγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομέ-
νου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι. Χρησα-

3 Xerxes
named as
heir.

πρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκ ὦν ἑξα-
 ναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν
 ἢ παθεῖν προκέεται ἀγὼν, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ
 20 Ἑλλήσι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσησι γένηται· τὸ
 γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. Καλὸν ὦν
 προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα
 καὶ τὸ δεινὸν, τὸ πείσομαι, τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας
 ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρυξ,
 25 ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο
 οὕτω, ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὄνθρωποι καὶ ἡ
 γῇ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέ-
 ονται.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐ- 12
 φρόνη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἢ He wavers,
and is warned
by a vision.
 Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη, νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν
 διδοὺς πάγχυ εὗρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρα- 13
 5 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δέ οἱ
 αὐτὶς τούτων, κατύπνωσε. καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ
 εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων.
 ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ
 εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν· Μετὰ δὴ βουλευεαι, ὦ Πέρσα,
 10 στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας
 ἀλίζειν Πέρσησι στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλεύο-
 μενος ποιέεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα.
 Ἄλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαιο ποιέειν, ταύ-
 την ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν. Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπαντα, ἐδόκεε
 15 ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι. Ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμφάσης 13
 ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέ-
 ετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ
 πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τύδε· Ἄν- A second
Council is
held and the
expedition
abandoned.

B.C. ruin, he sent, but too late, for aid from Sparta. At his
548 fall, the Greek cities in Asia Minor fell a prey to the conqueror. They too asked help from the Spartans, who responded by sending a threatening message to Cyrus, which he received with contempt. This would seem to be the first instance of direct contact between Greece and Persia.

For many years after this time, during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyeses, and the False Smerdis, the Persian monarchs were too fully occupied with wars abroad and rebellion at home to turn their thoughts toward Greece. Darius, after his accession, was first led to the idea of a campaign against the Greeks of Europe by his consort, the powerful Atossa. In fulfilment of a promise
B.C. she had made to the Crotoniate slave and physician,
518 Democedes, Atossa expressed her desire to be waited on by Laconian, Argive, Attic, and Corinthian hand-maids, and suggested the mainland of Greece as the goal of a conquering expedition. Darius was already planning the execution of his revenge upon the Scythians, but consented in the meantime to despatch a reconnoitring party to the shores of Greece, under the guidance of the physician himself. After visiting and spying out the ports of Greece proper, Democedes led his companions to Magna Graecia, in Italy, whence he contrived to make good his escape to Croton, thereby securing the sole object of his schemes. The Persians suffered shipwreck on the Iapygian coast, but were saved, and brought home by a Tarentine. By this time, however, Darius had turned his mind to other matters, and no further action resulted from the enterprise.

B.C. After their conquest by Cyrus, the Ionian cities had
513 become a regular part of the Persian empire, and accordingly sent an important contingent to serve under Darius on his Scythian campaign. By an act of fidelity at a critical moment in this war, Histiaeus, Tyrant of Miletus,

secured the King's esteem, and was rewarded with the gift of Myrcinus on the Strymon. Being afterwards awakened to the danger of allowing this important point to be fortified and held by a Greek, Darius summoned Histiaeus to Susa, and, while loading him with honours, kept him there, a prisoner in all but name.

It was in the hope of procuring a release from this captivity, that Histiaeus sent the celebrated message of revolt to his son-in-law and deputy at Miletus, Aristagoras. After shaving the head of his most trustworthy slave, he branded on it the words which were to rouse the reader to rebellion. Then, having waited for the hair to grow again, he despatched him to Miletus, with the simple and unsuspecting message, that he should bid Aristagoras shave and examine his head. Aristagoras was already eager for revolt, on account of his own unsatisfactory relations with the Persian generals, Artaphernes and Megabates. With the latter he had openly quarrelled. A fruitless expedition against Naxos, which had been undertaken at his instance and under his guidance, had embroiled him also with the powerful Artaphernes, who was Satrap of Sardis and ruler of all the coast land.

From this point dates the outbreak of the "Ionian Revolt." Aristagoras himself, who had little difficulty in winning over his fellow townsmen, gave the signal for rebellion by seizing on those Tyrants who were known to be friendly to Persia, and establishing democracies in their cities. He then started for Sparta, where he tried in vain to bribe king Cleomenes into a promise to send help.

At Athens he was more successful. Twenty ships were promised and sent, those ships that were destined to breed woe to two continents¹. Soon after the arrival of these vessels, accompanied by five others from Eretria, followed the burning of Sardis by the Greeks. Darius at once realised

¹ Ἄδται δὲ αἱ νῆες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ βαρ-
βάροις. v. 97.

the importance of the revolt. On receiving the news, we are told that he first asked who the Athenians were, then, uttering a prayer for vengeance, shot an arrow into the air, and finally, turning to one of his attendants, bade him repeat to him thrice daily before he tasted food, "O King, remember the Athenians."

But though the insurgents had succeeded in setting fire to the town of Sardis and its temples, they were repelled from the citadel and thrown back upon Ephesus, where they were overtaken and defeated by a Persian army. After this blow, Athens withdrew from the war, and in spite of repeated entreaties from the Ionians refused to give any further help. The Ionians, however, were by no means daunted. They succeeded in securing the alliance of Caria and Cyprus, and in taking possession of Byzantium and the neighbouring Hellespontine cities. But their success was short-lived. The revolt of Cyprus was crushed by a battle near Salamis in that island, in which, although the Ionian fleet defeated the Phoenicians, the Persian army routed the Cyprian land force, through the treachery of certain allies. The conquerors quickly recaptured the several cities of Cyprus, and then proceeded to attack Caria and the Hellespont. The Hellespontines gave little trouble, but the Carians offered a stubborn resistance, and, after suffering two severe defeats, cut off the victorious Persians by an ambush.

Notwithstanding this parting gleam of good fortune, the neck of the insurrection was broken. To none was this clearer than to Aristagoras himself. He lost no time in quitting the country at the head of a band of colonists for Thrace, where he and his followers were soon after killed.

It was at this point in the struggle that Histiaeus arrived from Susa. By lulling the suspicions of Darius, he had obtained leave to return to his native city and quiet the disturbances. Exulting in the success of his manoeuvre

he presented himself before Artaphernes. But the shrewd Satrap was less easily hoodwinked than his royal Master. In homely phrase he exposed the hypocrisy of the wily Greek and his confederacy with Aristagoras: "Ay, there were two parties to that shoe: *he* stepped into it, but *you* did the stitching"¹. Histiaeus required no further hint, but immediately fled to Chios. Thence, after an unsuccessful intrigue with certain influential Persians in Sardis, he attempted to return to his home. The Milesians, however, had by this time learnt to put no trust in Tyrants. Being at length well rid of Aristagoras, they were resolved to have no further dealings with his equally unscrupulous and more cunning father-in-law. Histiaeus, who had thus become an object of suspicion and distrust to both parties in the war, took refuge in Lesbos, where he persuaded the inhabitants to lend him ships and men. By means of these he established himself as a pirate at the mouth of the Black Sea. Subsequently, after the capture of Miletus, he fell into the hands of the Persians, during a ravaging foray in Mysia, and was promptly crucified by Artaphernes, who feared he might again win the confidence of Darius. These fears were soon justified, for the King received the news of the execution with grief and indignation, and caused the remains of his friend to be reverently interred.

Meanwhile the Persian commanders had resolved to bring the war to a close by concentrating their forces round Miletus, the source of the rebellion. The Greeks at once decided that resistance could be offered by sea only, and for this purpose mustered their fleet of three hundred and fifty three ships near the Island of Lade, before Miletus, to meet the Persian six hundred. Several days passed without fighting, the Persians endeavouring to sow treachery among the Greeks, while the Greeks, under the wise command of a Phocæan captain, daily

¹ Τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔβραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδέησας δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης. VI. 1.

exercised and improved their tactics. On the eighth day, however, the unstable and undisciplined Ionians refused to carry out any further the directions of their leader. From that moment order was at an end, and treachery began its work. As the Phoenician ships sailed up to the attack, the Greek contingents one after another deserted and fled, the Samians leading the way; while the few that remained, among whom the Chians distinguished themselves by their bravery, were soon routed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy.

s.c.
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Such was the battle of Lade, which was speedily followed by the capture and destruction of Miletus, and thus ended the Ionian Revolt, in the sixth year from its outbreak. The Ionian and Hellespontine cities were now thoroughly subjugated by the victorious army. Their buildings and shrines were set on fire. The choicest of their inhabitants were carried into captivity. Shortly afterwards the land was surveyed and assessed for a regular yearly tribute.

The rebellion thus stamped out, the Persians were once more able to turn their thoughts to conquest. Mardonius, a youthful and ambitious noble, son-in-law to the King, came down from Susa to take supreme command of an expedition to inflict chastisement on Athens and Eretria. The share which they had taken in the burning of Sardis had been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Great King. With a powerful fleet and army Mardonius proceeded along the Thracian coast as far as the peninsula of Mount Athos. Here a violent storm burst over the fleet. Dashing the ships upon the rocky shore, it destroyed three hundred of them and over twenty thousand lives. About the same time, Mardonius himself and his land force suffered severely in a night attack from a Thracian tribe, and, in consequence of this double disaster, all that remained of the armament was obliged to retreat in disgrace to Asia.

After the pause of a year, Darius resolved to be no

longer baffled in his purpose of vengeance. He dispatched heralds to all the chief states of Greece, asking for "earth and water" in token of submission. At the same time he gave orders for a muster of war-ships and transports on his own coasts.

From Athens and Sparta the heralds never returned. Their fate is recorded in Chap. 133 of Book VII. Many, however, of the mainland states, and all the islanders submitted to the King's demands. Foremost among the island states stood Aegina, the maritime rival and enemy of Athens, whom the Athenians accused to Sparta of treason to their country. After some delay, caused by dissensions between the two Spartan Kings, and the consequent deposition of Demaratus on the ground of doubtful birth, Aegina was punished by the removal of ten of her chief citizens as hostages to Athens, an event which finally led to war between the rivals.

Darius was now ready to follow up his schemes against Greece. The army and the transports had been mustered, and were placed under the command of Artaphernes, son of the Satrap of Sardis, and Datis, a Mede, accompanied by Hippias, the deposed Athenian Tyrant. The object of the expedition was first to subdue Naxos, which had formerly resisted the Persian arms, and thence to proceed against Athens and Eretria. The orders given were to burn the cities to the ground, and bring the inhabitants bound to Susa. For this purpose the whole force was to be transported by sea from Samos. After conquering Naxos and the other islands which they passed, sacred Delos alone excepted, the Persians arrived at Eretria, and, after a six days' siege, took the city by treachery, and fulfilled their master's commands by enslaving the Eretrians and setting fire to their temples.

Tidings of the impending danger soon reached Athens. A messenger was despatched to Sparta, to beg for immediate help. Fleet of foot, and inspired by the urgency of

B.C.
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his mission, he reached the city the following day. But the Spartans were celebrating the Carnean Feast, and their laws forbade them to march until the moon was full. Their tardy succour arrived only in time to admire Athenian valour on the morrow after the battle. Alone, therefore, aided only by their faithful allies the Plataeans, some nine thousand Athenian citizens prepared to face the masses of the enemy. Then followed the great day of Marathon. The story of the arrival and landing of the Persians, guided by the aged Hippas, of the divisions among the ten Athenian generals, of the swift resolve of Miltiades to fight at all hazards, is too well known to require repetition. The simple yet graphic account of Herodotus¹ is worthy of himself. As in his record of Thermopylae, so in that of Marathon, he gives the facts as he learnt them, and adds but brief comment. His highest words of praise are *ἀξίως λόγου*, and *ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός*. Yet he tells us that before this famous day the very name of Mede was sufficient to strike terror into Greeks. The Athenians at Marathon were the first to face the Median dress and Median arms without flinching, and the first to charge the enemy *at a run*.

When the battle was over, and the Persians were again in their ships, it is said that a shield was hoisted on high by some traitor in the city, and that in obedience to this signal the invaders sailed round the promontory of Sunium, to attack Athens from the other side. The Athenians were, however, too prompt for them. As the enemy approached Cynosarges, the victorious army stood ready to receive them. Foiled in their attempt at a surprise, the Persians sailed straight homewards without further endeavour of any sort.

So ended the second expedition against Greece. The announcement at Susa of this disaster, and its effect on the mind of the Great King, is the first statement in the Seventh Book of Herodotus.

¹ vi. 109—117.

- φροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε,
 ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ Reason why
the canal
was cut.
 μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι. παρεὼν γὰρ μηδὲν
- 5 πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι,
 ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, ~~ἔως~~ ^{ὡς} see
p. 11
 δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρενέμενας. Τοῖσι
 δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα,
 προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύ-
 ξαντας γεφυρῶσαι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίηε· 25
 παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα ἐς τὰς γε-
 φύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπι-
 τάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ
- 5 ⁴σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ Continued
prepara-
tions :
bridges,
magazines
etc.
 λιμήνυε ἡ στρατιή, μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους
 καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε, ἵνα ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἴη, ἄλλον
 ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμητοῖσι ἐκ
- 10 τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλείστον ἐς
 Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ
 δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον,
 οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακε-
 δονίην διατεταγμένοι.
- Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργά- 26
 ζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγ-
 μένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, The army as-
sembles at
Crittalla ;
commence-
ment of the
march.
 ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππα-
 5 δοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι
 πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ
 πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. Ὅς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων
 στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκεί-

ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, 5
οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖφ καὶ πρό-
τερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς
προτέρης γυναικὸς, Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασι-
λεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες.
τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης, 10
τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἔοντες δὲ μητρὸς
οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης,
κατ' ὃ τι πρεσβύτατός τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου,
καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς 15
Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη, τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, καὶ
ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτήσάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν
ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδείκνυ-
μένου κω γνῶμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ ταῦτό
τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρτηος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,
ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν
Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης, καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ ἐκ 5
Λακεδαιμόνος. οὗτος ὠνήρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου
παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει,
Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι,
ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖφ ἡδὴ βασιλεύοντι καὶ
ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι 10
ιδιώτῃ ἔοντι Δαρεῖφ, οὐκ ὦν οὐτ' οἶκος εἶη οὔτε
δίκαιον, ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ
ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρτηος ὑποτιθέ-
μενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες
ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ ἔτι
βασιλεύοντι ὀψύγονος ἐπιγένῃται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομέ-
νου τὴν ἐκδεξιν τῆς βασιλείης γίνεσθαι. Χρησα-

3 Xerxes
named as
heir.

μένου δὲ Ξέρξῳ τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑπόθηκη, γνοὺς ὁ
 Δαρείος, ὡς λέγοι δίκαια, βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε.
 10 δοκέει δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνὲν ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασι-
 λεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν
 κράτος. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος 4
 Ξέρξεα ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταυ-
 τά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀποστάσιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει πα-
 15 ρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον,
 βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριή-
 κοντα ἔτα, ἀποθαρῖν· οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο
 οὔτε τοὺς ἀπέστεώτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους
 τιμωρήσασθαι. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βα-
 σιλητὴ ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου
 10 Ξέρξεα.

Death of
Darius
B.C. 486.

Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδα, 5
 μῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύ-
 εσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτον ἐποιέετο τὴν
 στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνά-
 5 μενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος
 ὁ Γωβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς, Δαρείου δὲ
 ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων·
 Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκὸς ἐστὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἐργασαμέ-
 νους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας
 10 τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις,
 τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτον τὴν
 ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα
 λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς, καὶ τις
 ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύ-
 15 εσθαι. Οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦτου
 δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ

Εὐρώπῃ περικαλλὲς χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα
φέρει τὰ ἡμερα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρῃ· βασιλεῖ τε
6 ^{The} ^{Alcanda} ^{and} ^{the} ^{instr-} ^{actions} ^{per-} ^{suade} ^{him} ^{to} ^{prepare} ^{an} ^{expedition.} ⁶ μούνφ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι. Ταῦτα
δὲ ἔλεγε, οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμη-
τῆς εὖν, καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνφ δὲ κατεργάσατό
τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξεα, ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα· συνέ- 5
λαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ
πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας
παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ἀπυγμένοι ἀγγελοι ἐπεκα-
λέοντο βασιλέα, πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι,
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν 10
Θεσσαλίας βασιλέες. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδῶν
οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων
ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς
τούτοισι ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντό οἱ, ἔχοντες Ὀνο-
μάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμδλόγον τε καὶ 15
διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. ἀναβεβήκεσαν
γὰρ τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάθη γὰρ
ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος
ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοῦς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ
Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν, ὡς 20
αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίαιτο κατὰ
τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος,
πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. Τότε δὲ συνα-
ναβὰς, ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, λεγόν-
των τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς 25
λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι
σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρφ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν·
ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε, τὸν τε

Ἑλλήσποντον ὥς ζευχθῆναι χρεῶν εἷη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
 30 Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ
 χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρα-
 τίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεῦσθαι
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν
 ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα

The Revolt
of Egypt
crushed.
B.C. 484.

7

στρατὴν ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. Χτούτους
 5 μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν
 πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν,
 ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δα-
 ρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα
 Αἰγύπτου) χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσεν Ἰνάρως ὁ
 10 Ψαμμητίχου, ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν, ὥς ἔμελλεν 8
 εἰς χεῖρας ἄξουσιν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ
 τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπὶ κλητὸν Περ-
 σέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας

Xerxes pro-
pounds his
scheme
to a Council
of Nobles.

5 τε πύθηται σφέων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἶπη τὰ
 θέλει. Ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε·

Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατήγγομαι (νόμον
 τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς) παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρή-
 σομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,

10 οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἠτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ τε παρελάβομεν
 τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατε-
 λόντος Ἀστυάγεος· ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἄγει, καὶ
 αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέποισεν συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἀμεινόν. Τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης

15 πατὴρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκ-
 τήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τίς λέγοι.

Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεῶν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
 30 Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ
 χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρα-
 τίδαί τε καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν
 ἔτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα

The Revolt
 of Egypt
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7

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5 τε πύθηται σφέων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἶπη τὰ
 θέλει. Ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε·

Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατήγγεσθαι νόμον
 τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρή-
 σομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,

10 οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἠτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ τε παρελάβομεν
 τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατε-
 λόντος Ἀστυγάγεω· ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἄγει, καὶ

αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπρουσά συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἀμεινόν. Τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης

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 τήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τίς λέγοι.

7 11 12 13

χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατοψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμοῦρέουσιν
 τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν
 χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.
 50 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν
 οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσ-
 θαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων
 τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαίρημένων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν
 αἰτίοι ἐξουσι δούλιον ζυγόν, οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι. Ὑμεῖς
 55 δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε. ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν
 σημήνω τὸν χρόνον, ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως
 πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι ὅς ἂν δὲ ἔχων
 ἦκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ
 δῶρα, τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου
 60 ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω. Ὅτι δὲ μὴ ἰδιο-
 βουλευεῖν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον,
 γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαί-
 νεσθαι. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

¶ Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε ὦ δέσποτα, 9
 οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενεόμενων Περσέων
 ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὅς τά
 τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπικέῃ ἄριστα καὶ ἀλη-

Speech of
 Mardonius in
 favour of the
 expedition.

5 θέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικη-
 μένους οὐκ ἔασεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, ὄντας ἀναξι-
 ούς. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν
 καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα
 τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας
 10 οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι
 καταδ' ὀφειλάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ
 ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δεισάντες;
 κοίην πληθεὺς συστροφῇ; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων

χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατοψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμουρέουσιν
 τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν
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 οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσ-
 θαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων
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 αἰτίοι ^{οὐκ ἔχουσιν} ἐξουσι δούλιον ζυγόν, οἳ τε ἀναίτιοι. Ὑμεῖς
 55 δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε. ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν
 σημήνω τὸν χρόνον, ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως
 πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι· ὅς ἂν, δὲ ἔχων
 ἥκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ
 δώρα, τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου
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Ἦτορ· Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· ὦ δέσποτα, 9
 οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενεόμενων Περσέων
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 τε ἔθνηα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας
 10 οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι
 καταδ' ἑνὲς δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ
 ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δεισάντες;
κοίην πληθεὸς συστροφῇ; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων

δύναμιν; Τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστά-
 μεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εὐῶσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ 15
 αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφάμενοι τούτους, οἳ ἐν τῇ
 ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολεές καὶ
 Δωριεές καλέονται. Ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη
 ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρὸς
 τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς· καὶ μοι μέχρ' ἄν Μακεδονίης 20
 ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας
 ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην. Καί τοι γε
 ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα
 πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιό-
 τητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προεῖπωσι, 25
 ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς
 τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ
 οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσω-
 μένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται·
 τούτους χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε δια- 30
 χρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς
 διαφοράς, καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι· εἰ δὲ
 πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν
 χρῆν, τῇ ἐκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ
 πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες δια- 35
 χρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς,
 οὐκ ἤλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον, ὥστε μάχεσθαι. Σοὶ
 δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον
 προσφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
 καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς 40
 τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ
 δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ γε ψευσθείην γνώμη, καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐπαρ-
 2. θέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν,

ὥς εἰμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. Ἔστω
 45 δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.
 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλήνας τὴν Ξέρξῳ
 γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο.

Σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων, καὶ οὐ 10
 τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀν-
 τίνῃ τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἄρτάβανος ὁ Speech of
Artabanus
against the
expedition.
 Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ
 5 καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν, ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ
 λεχθυσέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι, οὐκ
 ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ
 εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι, λεχθυσέων δὲ ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν
 χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐ
 10 διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ
 χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἡγόρευον·
 μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς
 ἄστυ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ, ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νο-
 15 μάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρα-
 τευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς
 ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ'
 ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας,
 οἳ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν
 20 λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ
 σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. Ζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλή-
 σποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἥ τοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ ~~κατὰ~~
 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἥ καὶ κατ' ἀμφό-
 25 τερα. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι·

πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε
 τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνει ἔλθοῦσαν
 ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μούνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.
 101. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· ἀλλ', ἦν τῇσι
 νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι 30
 ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέ-
 3 φυραν, τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. Ἐγὼ
 δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκῆτῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλ-
 λομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγον ἐδέησε κατα-
 λαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατήρ σός ζεύξας Βόσπορον 35
 102. τὸν Θρηϊκίον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου,
 διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας· τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι
 δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέ-
 τραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου. καὶ
 τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο 40
 τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἡντιώθη,
 103. διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καὶ τοι καὶ
 λόγφ ἀκούσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ
 4 βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. Σὺ ὦν μὴ βού-
 λευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μη- 45
 δεμιῆς ἀνάγκης εἰούσης· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ. νῦν μὲν
 τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅταν τοι
 δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωντοῦ, προαγόρευε
 τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι
 κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἔόν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιω- 50
 104. θῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσسون εὖ,
 ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ
 βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῦς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο,
 εὖρημα εὕρηκε, ἔσسون δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευ-
 5 ται. Ὅρᾳς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ

θεός, οὐδὲ ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν
 κνίξει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ
 δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει
 γὰρ ὁ θεός τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολουεῖν. οὕτω
 60 δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται
 κατὰ τοιόνδε. ἐπεὰν σφί ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον
 ἐμβάλη ἢ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως
 ἑωυτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον
 ἢ ἑωυτόν. * Ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυχ. πᾶν πρήγμα 6
 65 τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι
 γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ
 παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι
 τις ἄν. Σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβου- 7
 λεύω. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι
 70 λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἔοντων
 ἀξίω φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων
 ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ
 τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτεί-
 νειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι
 75 δεινότατον, ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἰς δὲ
 ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ, οὐ
 παρεὸντος κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος
 πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεῶν τοῦ
 λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθεὶς τε
 80 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου
 κακὸς εἶναι. Ἄλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν
 αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ
 ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα στρατη-
 85 λάτῃ αὐτὸς σὺ, ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς

ἐθέλεις, καὶ λαβὼν στρατιήν, ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλειαι.
καὶ ἦν μὲν, τῇ σὺ λέγεις, ἀναβαίνειν βασιλείῃ τὰ
πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ
αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ
ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σὺ, ἦν ἀπονο- 90
στήσης. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐβελήσεις,
σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπο-
μένων, Μαρδόνιον μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον
Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον 95
ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακε-
δαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν,
ἀναγινώσκεις στρα-
τεύεσθαι βασιλέα.

- 11 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Ξέρξης δὲ θυμω-
θεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· Ἀρτάβανε, πα-
τρὸς εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε
ρύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων μα-
ταίων. καὶ τοι αὐτήν τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθιμι 5
έόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι
ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι
γυναιξί. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο, ὅσα περ εἶπα,
ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ
Τσατάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ 10
Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος,
τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθη-
ναίους, εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι, εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην
ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρα-
τεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ χρή σταθμώσασθαι 15
τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἱ Σάρδις τε ἐνέ-

Angry reply
of Xerxes.

πρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκ ὦν ἐξα-
 ναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖιν
 ἢ παθεῖν προκέεται ἀγῶν, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ
 20 Ἑλλησι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ
 γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. Καλὸν ὦν
 προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα
 καὶ τὸ δεινόν, τὸ πείσομαι, τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας
 ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρυξ,
 25 ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δούλος, κατεστρέψατο
 οὕτω, ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὄνθρωποι καὶ ἡ
 γῇ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέ-
 ονται.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐ- 12
 φρόνη τε ἐγένετο, καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἢ He wavers,
and is warned
by a vision.
 Ἄρταβάνου γνώμη, νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν
 διδοὺς πάγχυ εὗρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρα- ~~την~~
 5 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δέ οἱ
 αὐτὶς τούτων, κατύπνωσε. καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ
 εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων.
 ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ
 εὐεidéα εἰπεῖν· Μετὰ δὴ βουλευεαι, ὦ Πέρσα,
 10 στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας
 ἀλλίξειν Πέρσῃσι στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευό-
 μενος ποιεῖς εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα.
 Ἄλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαιο ποιεῖιν, ταύ-
 την ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν. Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἶπαντα, ἐδόκεε
 15 ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι. Ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης 13
 ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέ-
 ετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ
 πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγε σφὶ τάδε· Ἄν- A second
Council is
held and the
expedition
abandoned.

πρήγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως
 γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῖνα λόγον ^{πλείω}
 5 ἐκτείνει. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν,
 πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι
 Πέρσῃσι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλευώ
 τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ
 γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἱοί τέ εἰμεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυ- ^{καθι}
 10 πέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ σφεας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ
 ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι, καταδουλουμένους τὴν μη-
 τρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους, συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδι-
 κώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν
 προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἱοί τε
 15 δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ^{δηλίσσ}
 Ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βάλεν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος, ὥς εὖ
 εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι.
 Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα ^{ἀμείβεται} Ξέρξης· Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν 52
 ἀπεφῆναι γινώμεων σφάλλαι κατὰ ταύ- ^{is disregarded by the King.}
 την δὴ μάλιστα, ὅς Ἴωνας φοβέαι μὴ
 μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γινῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σὺ
 5 τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρεῖφ
 ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα
 Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περι-
 ποιῆσαι, οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέ-
 δωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. παρέξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ
 10 ἡμετέρῃ ^{ἐν τῇ} καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
 χρήματα οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιή-
 σειν. Οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων
 ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν
 ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνφ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ
 15 ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω.

ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. Εἰ ὦν
 θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ
 ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 15 ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως
 καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινό-
 μενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πάσαν,
 καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο Ἴζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ
 ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας. Ξέρξης 18
 μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ
 τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα Artabanus
summoned:
his advice.
 οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι,
 5 τέλος ὡς ἡναγκάζετο, εἶπας τάδε ἐποίει τὸ κε-
 λευόμενον· Ἴσον ἐκείνο, ὃ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ
 κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ
 ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα,
 ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμίλῃαι σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περ
 10 τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν
 πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν
 φύσει τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρῆσθαι. Ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς
 σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον, γνωμέων δαίμων
 δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσησι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐ-
 15 ξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης, ὡς
 κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι διζήσθαι
 αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιούτων προκειμενέων
 γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν σεαυτῷ τε καὶ
 Πέρσησι ἀναίρεο. Νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ
 20 τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἑλληνας
 στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ
 ἐὼντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά
 ἐστι, ὃ παιῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους

- τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἔδωρέετο. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ 55
 ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην Crossing of
the Hellen-
pont.
 τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ
 πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ
 5 Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπητή. ἡγέοντο
 δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι
 πάντες· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς
 παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι,
 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἳ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ
 10 τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ
 οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἳ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ
 ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, ἡμεῖς
 καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος
 στρατός· καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπε-
 15 ναυτίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι
 βασιλέα πάντων. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς 56
 τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθελῆτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ Impression
produced by
the army.
 μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρα-
 τὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι,
 5 ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρ-
 ξῳ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἀνδρα
 εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰ-
 δόμενος Πέρση, καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα
 θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι,
 10 ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων
 ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.
 Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοις 57
 10 τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν Ominous
portents.
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ περ εὐσύμ- ἐξ ὧν με-
 βλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμ-

βλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐμελλε μὲν 5
 εἰλάν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρό-
 τατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὅπως δὲ περὶ
 ἐαυτοῦ τρέχων ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον. Ἐγέ-
 νετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι·
 ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διζὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ 10
 τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης, κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ
 58 ἔρσενος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησά-
Arrival at Doriscus. μενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ
 ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ἔξω τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἐμ-
 παλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς 5
 1, 1 ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης τὴν ἀπικνίω
 ποιούμενος, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προεῖρητο ἀπικομένῃ
 περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατός πρὸς ἡῶ
 τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποίετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς
 Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον 10
 τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ
 μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος, τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει
 εἶναι Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον
 τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν,
 οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον, ἀλλ' 15
 ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὐ
 καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥτε πρὸς
 ἐσπέρην, Αἰνὸν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα
 59 λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς δ' ἀπῖκετο ἐς Δορίσκον. Ὁ
Numbering of the host. δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρητικῆς αἰγιαλός
 τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει
 ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος, ἐν τῷ τείχος τε ἐδέδμητο
 βασιλῆϊον τοῦτο, τὸ δὲ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ 5

Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου
 ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρα-
 τεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπι-
 τήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν.
 10 καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας
 ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος
 Ξέρξεω, ἐς τὸν αἰγαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ
 ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκικὴ πεπόλισται
 πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ, Σέρρειον,
 15 ἄκρη οὐνομαστή· ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν
 Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγαλὸν κατασχόντες
 τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν
 ἐποιέετο. "Οσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλήθος 80
 ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ
 λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ
 τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομή-
 5 κοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. Ἐξηρίθησαν δὲ
 τότε τὸν τρόπον. συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον
 μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὥς
 μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περι-
 γράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασιν
 10 περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν
 ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες
 ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέ-
 χρις οὐ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθησαν·
 ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον. *οὕτως τὸ 100*
 Οἱ δὲ στρατεούμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν 61
 ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον
 τίάρας καλομένους, πέλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ

σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, λεπίδος
 σιδηρῆς ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα 5
 ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα. ὑπὸ δὲ φаре-
 τρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα
 δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνοὺς, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχει-
 ρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ
 τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, 10
 τὸν Ἀμῆστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός.
 Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες,
 ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιόικων Ἀρ-
 ταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς
 ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ 15
 τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς, τῷ
 οὔνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ κατα-
 λείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἔων ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσηνος
 γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.
 62 Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρα-
 τεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ
 Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο
 Τιγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι
 πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς 5
 Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους,
 μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα. αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ
 σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρα-
 τευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκενά-
 दाτο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισ- 10
 σίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ἑρκάνιοι δὲ
 κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχό-
 μενοι Μεγάπανον, τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων
 63 ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ

μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ
 πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπή-
 γητον· ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια
 5 παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ
 ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους
 θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο
 Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλή-
 θησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι· ἦρχε δὲ
 σφῶν Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχαίου. Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ 64
 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχον-
 τες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ
 αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν
 5 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὄξυ ἀπιγμένας ὀρθὰς
 εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα
 δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας
 σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ, ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυρ-
 γίους, Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς
 10 Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων
 ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς
 Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65
 ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ
 οἰστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλ-
 μένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοί· προσετετάχατο
 5 δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάτῳ.
 Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοις μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδι- 66
 κοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ
 ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χορά-
 σμιοι, καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι,
 5 τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι,
 ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Πάρθων μὲν

καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκειω, Σογδῶν
 δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων
 67 Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρας τε
 ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμῃνα ἔχον-
 τες καὶ ἀκινάκας, ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω
 ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν
 Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. Σαραγγαὶ δὲ εἴματα μὲν 5
 βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ
 ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς·
 Σαραγγέων δὲ ἥρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.
 Πάκτυες δὲ σισυροφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπι-
 χώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα 10
 68 παρείχοντο Ἀρτύνην τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὗτιοι δὲ
 καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν
 κατὰ περ Πάκτυες· τούτων δὲ ἥρχον οἶδε· Οὐτίων
 μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων
 69 δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς
 ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς
 δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ
 λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος
 σπάθης πεπονημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ 5
 ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς σμικροὺς· ἀντὶ
 δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὴν λίθος ὀξύς πεπονημένος, τῷ καὶ
 τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι. πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον·
 ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὴν ὀξύ πεπονημένον,
 τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά 10
 τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ,
 ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ μίλτῳ. Ἀρα-
 βίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκη-
 μένων ἥρχε Ἀρσάμης, ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώης

- 15 τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν
 γυναικῶν Δαρείους εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποι-
 ῆσατο. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοῦπων καὶ
 Ἀραβίων ἤρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνα- 70
 τολέων Αἰθιοῦπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσ-
 ετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος
 μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα
 5 μῦνον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθιοῦπες ἰθύτριχες
 εἰσι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα
 ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίας Αἰθιοῦπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοῖ
 ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι
 10 κεφαλῇσι, σὺν τε τοῖσι ὥσθι ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ
 λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ
 δὲ ὅτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον, προ-
 βλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων
 δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἦσαν 71
 ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι.
 ἄρχοντα δὲ παρῆχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.
 Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφα- 72
 λῇσι ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια
 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπι-
 5 χώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ
 καὶ Ματιηνοὶ, καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι, τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι, ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ
 Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται.
 Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ
 10 Μεγασίδρου ἤρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λυγίων
 καὶ Συρίων Γωβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυ-

- 73 *στάτης*. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ 5 χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε
- 74 Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὄπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 5 εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαῦτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὔρεος καλεῖνται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα 10
- 75 ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρηῖκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεῦοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια τε καὶ πέλτας 5 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ
- 76 Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηῖκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.....ἀσπίδας δὲ ἀμοβοῖνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο

λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
 5 κράνεα χάλκεα, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ
 κέρεα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι·
 τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατεϊλίχατο.
 ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.
 Καβηλῆες δὲ οἱ Μηῖνες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεῖμενοι, 77
 τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευὴν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὶ
 κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε
 σημανέω. Μιλῦναι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον
 5 καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα
 μετεξέτεροι Λυκία, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ
 διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων
 ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν 78
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλῖνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικρὰς, λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι.
 Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι κατὰ
 5 περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους
 δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ
 Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ
 Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ
 καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, ὃς
 Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες 79
 δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ
 εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματῖνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια.
 Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα,
 5 ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς τε βρα-
 χέας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρώων δὲ καὶ
 Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἄλα-
 ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὥπλι-
 σμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρο-

- 80 *μίτρεω ἤρχε.* Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἤρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.
- 81 Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἤρχον οὗτοι, ὅπερ εἰρέεται· καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες. ἦσαν μὲν
- 82 δὴ οὗτοι, ὅπερ εἰρέεται, ἄρχοντες. Ἑστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου, τοῦ γνῶμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω (Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοὶ) καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀρίζου, καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.
- 83 Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων. τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τούδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐ-

Names of the
Generals.

The 'Immortal'
corps.

δαμά οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. Κόσ-
 μον δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι,
 10 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην
 εἶχον, ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλόν
 καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον. ἄρμαμάξας τε
 ἄμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπῆτην πολ-
 λὴν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην. σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς
 15 τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια
 ἦγον.

Ἴππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα 84
 παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μόννα. Πέρσαι
 μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν·
 πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν
 5 καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.
 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεό- 85
 μνοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ
 μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ
 τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς, οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισ-
 5 χιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα
 οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων. χρέωνται δὲ σει-
 ρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτησι πῖσυνοι
 ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσῃωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι,
 10 βάλλουσι τὰς σειράς, ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας.
 ὅτευ δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἣν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου,
 ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι
 διαφθείρονται. τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ
 ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ 86
 ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως.
 Ἴνδοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ

πεζῶ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως Κάσπριοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους, ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένης ἵππων.

87 Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα ἵππευε. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτῶ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππῆες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

88 Ἱππαρχοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος, Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνῆπαρχος Φαρνούχης καταλέλειπτο ἐν Σαρδίσι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὠρμέοντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον. ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων· καὶ ὁ ἵππος, οὐ προῖδων, ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στάς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείστατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια. πεσὼν δὲ αἱμὰ τε ἤμει, καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν οἱ οἰκέται, ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἐς τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότεια, ἀπαγαγόντες, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

89 Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ

ὡς διηκόσιναι καὶ χίλιαι· παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς
 ἔ· Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοις τοῖσι ἐν

Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἔσκεν-
 μένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας

The Fleet:
 Egyptians
 and Phoeni-
 cians.

ζον ἀγγχοτάτω πεπονημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλλη-
 ζόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 ἰς οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ
 Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι,
 ἰ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες
 ε Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν. τῆς δὲ
 ἰρήνης τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου
 ἰν Παλαιστίνῃ καλεῖται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας
 ἰρεῖχοντο διηκοσίας. οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν
 σι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλεῦτὰ, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας,
 ε ἵτους μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα
 ἰ τύκους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν θωρη-
 φόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον. οὗτοι
 ν οὕτω ἐστάλατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90
 ντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἔσκευασμένοι Cyprians
 ἔ· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχματο μίτρησι οἱ βασι-
 ες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
 τὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. Τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά
 τι· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ
 ὁ Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ
 ἰωνίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι
 γουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. 91
 γοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι Cilicians and
 ἀνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισιγῆά τε εἶχον ἀντ' Pamphylians
 πίδων, ὠμοβοέης πεπονημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρι-
 υς ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ

ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτῳ τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαί-
 ρῃσι πεποιημένα. Οὗτοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν Ἵπα-
 χαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος,
 ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμ-
 φυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἑλληνι- 10
 κοῖσι ὕπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι
 οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἅμα
 92 Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο
 Lycaians νέας πεντήκοντα, θωρηκοφόροι τε ἔοντες
 καὶ κνημηδοφόροι. εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανεῖνα καὶ
 οἷστους καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ
 αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα, περὶ 5
 δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πύλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανω-
 μένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι
 δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο, ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες· ἐπὶ
 δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος, ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, ἔσχον
 93 τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριέες δὲ, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας,
 Dorians τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε
 Ἑλληνικὰ ὕπλα, καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοπον-
 νήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας,
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περὶ Ἑλλήνες ἐσταλμένοι· εἶχον 5
 δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες
 πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων
 94 Ionians εἴρηται. Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρεί-
 χοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλλήνες. Ἴωνες δὲ, ὅσον
 μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν κα-
 λεομένην Ἀχαιῆν, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δανάον τε καὶ
 Ξοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἑλλήνες 5
 λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυιαλεές, ἐπὶ δὲ
 95 Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξοῦθου Ἴωνες. Νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτα-

καίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὀπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες.
 καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον
 δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν <sup>Islanders,
Aeolians,
Helleston-
tians.</sup>
 5 λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ
 ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρεί-
 χοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὸ πάλαι
 καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλ-
 λησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γάρ
 10 προστετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος, κατὰ χώραν μένουσι,
 φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν
 νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες· οὗτοι
 δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι 96
 καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα <sup>Inferior
officers.</sup>
 πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ
 Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. Τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς
 5 τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις
 ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ
 ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι.
 οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες,
 ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες, τοσοῦτοι καὶ
 10 ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοί, ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ στρα-
 τηγοί τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες
 τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι,
 εἰρέαταί μοι. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε· 97
 Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρη- <sup>Commanders
of the fleet.</sup>
 ξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω, καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ
 Μεγαβάτεω, καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου. τῆς μὲν

- Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης, ὁ 5
 Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς,
 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν
 ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεὸς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς
 ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντη-
 κόντεροι καὶ κέρκouroi καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα 10
 μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρις-
 98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρα-
 τηγοὺς οἶδε ἦσαν οἱ οὐνομαστώτατοι·
Tributary potentates. Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύ-
 ριος Μάπην Σιρώμον, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος
 Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συνέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος καὶ 5
 Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα· καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος
 τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω· καὶ
 Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω, καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Σελ-
 99 δώμον, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μὲν
Special men-
tion of Artemisia. νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνηται ταξιαρχέων,
 ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ,
 τῆς μάλιστα θωῦμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 στρατευσασμένης, γυναικὸς, ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ 5
 ἀνδρὸς, αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ παῖδὸς
 ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρῆς
 ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὐ-
 νομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν
 Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς 10
 πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ
 Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κώων καὶ Νισυρίων τε
 καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. καὶ συνα-
 πάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας 1
 εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων 15

γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλείϊ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέ-
 λεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀπο-
 φαίνω πᾶν ἔδν Δωρικὸν, Ἀλικαρνησσίας μὲν Τροι-
 ζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. Ἐς μὲν
 20 τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται. K

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ 100
 στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξε- Xerxes sur-
veys the
force.
 λάσας θεήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίηε ταῦτα,
 καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκα-
 5 στον ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμμα-
 τισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ
 τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπε-
 ποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθισέων ἐς θάλασσαν,
 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα
 10 Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ, καὶ παρέπλεε
 παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας
 ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὺν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ He as-
sesses the
 νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὕσον τε τέσσερα
 πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρώρας
 15 ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες, πάντες μετωπηδὸν καὶ ἐξο-
 πλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ' Then
 ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθνεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰ-
 γιαλοῦ.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ 101
 τῆς νεὸς, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν He questions
Deimarus.
 Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε·
 5 Δημάρητε, νῦν μοί σε ἡδὺ τι ἐστὶ ἐπείρεσθαι τὰ
 θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλην τε καὶ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι
 σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς

- 73 *στώνης*. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήϊοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ 5 χάρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες Φρυγῶν ἀποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε
- 74 Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητόνες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 5 εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἀποικοι, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὐρεος καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα 10
- 75 ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρηίκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας 5 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ
- 76 Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.....ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῦνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο

λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
 5 κράνεα χάλκεα, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ
 κέρεα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι·
 τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατεϊλίχατο.
 ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.
 Καβηλῆες δὲ οἱ Μητῶνες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεῖμενοι, 77
 τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευὴν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὶ
 κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε
 σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον
 5 καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα
 μετεξέτεροι Λυκία, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ
 διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων
 ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ἵστάνεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν 78
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλῖνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικρὰς, λόγχοι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι.
 Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι κατὰ
 5 περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους
 δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ
 Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ
 Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ
 καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, ὃς
 Σηστόν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες 79
 δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ
 εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματῖνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια.
 Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα,
 5 ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς τε βρα-
 χέας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ
 Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἄλα-
 ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὠπλι-
 σμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρο-

παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦτό ἐστι, το σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι γε μέντοι 30
 σὺ πολλὸν, ἀλλὰ στάσιον. εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων
 τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμαφάρων, οἱ ἐβελήσαντο Ἑλλήνων
 ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἀπει-
 104 ρος, πολλὰ φλυηρέεις. Πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος
Demaratus
molliterat his
asseritiam. λέγει· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν ἠπιστάμην,
 ὅτι ἀληθεῖν χρέομενος σὺ φίλα τοι ἐρέω.
 σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠγόρασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς
 ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι 5
 καίτοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς†
 ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστευαι, οἱ με τιμὴν τε
 καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἀπολὶν τε καὶ
 φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν· πατὴρ δὲ σὺς ὑποδεξάμενος
 βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι 10
 ἀνδρα τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέ-
 εσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε
 δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχυμαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι
 οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουννομαχέοιμι.
 εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγὼν, 15
 μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἡδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος
 εἶναι. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἓνα
 μαχόμενοι, οὐδαμῶν εἰσὶ κακίονες ἀνδρῶν· ἀλέες
 δὲ, ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ 20
 ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσι· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι
 δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι
 4 μᾶλλον, ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ. ποιεῦσι γὼν, τὰ ἂν ἐκείνος
 ἀνώγει· ἀνώγει δὲ τῶντὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν
 οὐδὲν πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας 25
 ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ

φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν
ἐθέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα· *here*
γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.

- ‘Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς 105
γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο Appointment
of Masmæa.
ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἡπίως αὐτὸν ἀπε-
πέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης καὶ
5 ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασ-
κάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου στα-
θέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς
Θρητικής ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα 106
τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Honours paid
to him.
Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε, ὡς ἀριστεύοντι
πάντων, ὅσους κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἡ Δαρείος ὑπάρ-
5 χους· πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὥς δὲ καὶ
Ἄρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκ-
γόνοισι. Κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης
τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρητικῇ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλ-
λησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες οἳ τε ἐκ
10 Θρητικής καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν
Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς
στρατηλασίας ἐξηρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ
Μασκάμην οὐδαμῶς κω ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν, πολ-
λὼν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δέ οἱ τὰ δῶρα
15 πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρ-
σῃσι. Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα 107
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμιζε εἶναι ἄνδρα Fidelity of
Bogæ.
ἀγαθόν, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μούνον τὸν ἐξ
Ἡϊόνος· τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς
5 περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα· μά-

λιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιός αἶνον μεγάλου ἐγένετο
 Βόγης, ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπον-
 δον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ
 ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ 10
 διεκαρτέρεε εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορ-
 βῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην,
 ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλ-
 λακάς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε εἰς τὸ
 πῦρ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ 15
 τοῦ ἄσπετος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τείχεος εἰς τὸν Στρυμόνα· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἑω-
 τὸν ἐπέβαλε εἰς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως
 αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ εἰς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

- 108 <sup>Departure from Doris-
cua.</sup> Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμ-
 ποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. ἔδε-
 δούλωτο γὰρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ
 μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασ- 5
 μοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ
 ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. Παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος
 ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηϊκία τείχεα,
 τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην πόλιν, τῇ
 οὖνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίη· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θα- 10
 σίων πόλις Στρίμη. διὰ δὲ σφῶν τοῦ μέσου
 Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ
 ἱδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.
 ἢ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή,
 νῦν δὲ Βριαντική, ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν 15
 λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου

ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον, πόλις Ἑλ-
ληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνει-
αν, Δίκαιαν, Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ March
through
Thrace.

- 5 παρεξήϊε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας οὐνομαστάς
τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρώμης κειμέ-
νην Ἰσμαρίδα· κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν
ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς τε καὶ Κόμ-
ψατος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν
10 εὐόσαν οὐνομαστήν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποτα-
μὸν δὲ Νέστον ρέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. Μετὰ δὲ
ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας πόλεις
παρήϊε, τῶν ἐν μῇ λίμνῃ εὐόσα τυγχάνει ὥσει
τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἔχ-
15 θυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι
ταύτῃ οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυρος. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς
πόλεις, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας, ἐξ
εὐνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήϊε. Ἔθνεα δὲ 110
Θρητῶν, δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, Reinforce-
ment of the
host.
τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, Σα-
παῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἡδωνοὶ, Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν
5 παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἴ-
ποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰέοντες, κατα-
λεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι
πάντες περὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο. Σάτραι δὲ 111
οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, The Sa-
trians; their
oracle.
ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελευτοῖσι τὸ
μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι, μούνοι Θρητῶν.
5 οἰκέουσίν τε γὰρ οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ, ἴδησί τε παντοίησι
καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι,

- οὔτοι, οἳ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἔκτη-
 μένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 οὐρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρώων
 εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ 10
 χρέουσα, κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικι-
 112 λώτερον. Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰ-
 ρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο
The mines of Mt Pan-
gaeanum. τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης
 ἐστὶ οὐνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς 5
 χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὐρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε
 καὶ ὑψηλὸν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι
 μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι
 113 καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. Ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγ-
 γαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας, Δό-
Paeonia :
Magian rites. βηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν ἦε
 πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς δ' ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τε Στρυ-
 μόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἠϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἤρχε 5
 Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον
 ἐποιεύμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον
 οὐρος καλεῖται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς
 ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν
 Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς 10
 αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλυ-
 114 ρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς. Φαρμακεύσαν-
Passage of
the Strymon. τες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα
 πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι ἐν Ἑννέα Ὀδοῖσι
 τῇσι Ἠδωνῶν, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν
 Στρυμόνα εἰρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἑννέα δὲ Ὀδοὺς 5
 πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλεῖσθαι, τοσ-

οὗτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶντας κατῴρυσσον. Περσικὸν
 δὲ τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἄμηστριν,
 10 τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα, πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις
 ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν
 ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντι-
 χαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρα- 115
 τὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ ^{Journey through Bi-}
 αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλον πό- ^{saltia,}
 λιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε. αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε
 5 ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κόλπον
 τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδητῆος ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων, ἥϊε
 διὰ Συλῆος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν
 Ἑλλάδα παραμβιβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκητο εἰς Ἀκαν-
 θον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων
 10 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος οἰκούντων, ὁμοίως
 καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θά-
 λασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους,
 τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ
 ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν
 15 ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήϊκες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι,
 σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα 116
 εἰς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπίκητο, ξεινίην τε ὁ ^{and Acan-}
 Πέρσης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε, καὶ ^{thus.}
 ἔδωρῆσαντό σφεας ἐσθήτι Μηδικῇ, ἐπαίνεε τε
 5 ὁρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
 καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῃ 117
 δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήγεικε ὑπὸ νοῦσου ^{Death of Ar-}
 ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος ^{tachaea ;}
^{honours paid to him.}

Ἄρταρχαίῳ, δοκιμὴν εἶντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ
γένος Ἀχαιμενιδῶν. μεγάλῃ τε μέγιστον εἶντα 5
Περσέει (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε τηχένου βασιλείων
ἀπέλκε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φανεύοντά τε μέγισ-
τον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξῃ συμφορὴν ποιη-
σάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξεπείκει τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα
καὶ θάψαι· ἐπεμβοχόει δὲ πᾶσι ἡ στρατιή. 10
τοῦτο δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαιῷ θύουσι Ἀκαόνιαι ἐκ θεο-
προπίου ὡς ἤρωι, ἐκπυρομάζοντες τὸ σῆμα. βα-
σιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπαλαμένον Ἀρταχαιέω
118 ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν. Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλή-
των τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρ-
ξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀτίεστο, οὕτω ὥστε
ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅσον γε Θα-
σίοιςι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ πόλιων τῶν σφετέ- 5
ρων δεξαμένοιςι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δει-
πνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν
ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε
ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετε-
119 λεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἀλ-
λησι πόλινσι οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν
τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι
ἐγένετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ
περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον. τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο 5
τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δα-
σάμενοι σίτον ἐν τῇσι πόλινσι οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε
καὶ ἄλφιστα ἐποίεον πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς·
τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα σιτεύεσκον, ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς
τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ 10
λιμναίους ὃν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοιςι, ἐς ὑπο-

Εὐσταθίου
ἐκ τῆς
ἐκείνης

Εὐσταθίου ἐκ
ἐκείνης

δοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τίθεται πάντα. ταῦτα
 15 μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιῇ, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη, ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεέσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη
 20 στρατιῇ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος· ὥς δὲ δείπνου γίνοιτο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὲ Μεγακρέοντος, ἀνδρὸς 120 Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ^{Megacreon's bon mot.} ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι, πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ,
 5 ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφί μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτον αἰρέεσθαι. παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδη-
 10 ρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας, κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπι-
 τασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι 121 στρατηγόισι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπο- ^{Separation of army and fleet.} μένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πο-

91 κ' ο' μ' ν'

λόγους ἀπικομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ'
 ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλ-
 λῆνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ
 λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλ-
 λεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπο-
 μέναι, μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι. ἐθέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ
 ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι. 15
 Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα. ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείη χρήσομαι πρὸς σέ ἢ
 ἡδονῇ; Ὅ δέ μιν ἀληθείη χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε,
 φᾶς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

102 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρτητος, ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείη διαχρήσασθαι
 πάντως με κελεύεις, ταῦτα λέγοντα, τὰ
 μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ
 ἀλώσεται· τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύν- 5
 τροφός ἐστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης
 κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ, τῇ διαχρεομένη
 ἢ Ἑλλάς τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν
 δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἕλληνας τοὺς
 περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους· 10
 ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς
 λόγους, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων· πρῶτα
 μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους
 δουλосύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὡς
 ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλ- 15
 λῆνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι,
 μὴ πύθῃ, ὅσοι τινὲς ἔόντες ταῦτα ποιείειν οἰοὶ τέ
 εἰσι· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι,

Reply of
 Demaratus;
 valour of the
 Spartans.

ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ

- Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης Πόλιος καὶ
 Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ
 Σάνης· αὐται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην,
 πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην, νεμόμεναι.
 10 Παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ
 προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεου-
 σέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι
 τάδε, Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμ-
 15 ψα, Σμίλα, Αἶνεια. ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη
 ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν
 ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη
 ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ
 ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην.
 20 πλέων δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην
 καὶ Σινδόν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην, ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀξιον ποταμὸν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην
 τε καὶ Βοττιαῖδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν
 στεῖνόν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.
 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιον 124
 ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς Course of the
army.
 μεταξὺ πόλεις τούτων, περιμένων βασι-
 λέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς
 5 στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, τὴν μεσό-
 γαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην
 ἀπικέσθαι. ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ
 Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχειδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρη-
 στωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας.
 10 καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.
 Πορευομένη δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθῆκαντο τῇσι 125

παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μέντοι 30
 οὐ πολλόν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον. εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων
 τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων, οἳ ἐβελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων
 ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἀπει-
 104 ρος, πολλὰ φληηρέεις. Πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος
 λέγει· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχήθεν ἡπιστάμην,
 ὅτι ἀληθεῖα χρεόμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω.
 σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς
 ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι. 5
 καίτοι, ὥς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς
 ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, οἳ με τιμὴν τε
 καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἀπολύν τε καὶ
 φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν· πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος
 βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι 10
 ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέ-
 εσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε
 δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχωμαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι
 οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκῶν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουνوماχείοιμι.
 εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴῃ ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, 15
 μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιός
 εἶναι. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἕνα
 μαχόμενοι, οὐδαμῶν εἰσὶ κακίονες ἀνδρῶν· ἀλέες
 δὲ, ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ 20
 ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσι· ἔπεστι γὰρ σφί
 δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι
 4 μᾶλλον, ἢ οἳ σοὶ σέ. ποιεῦσι γὰρ τὰ ἂν ἐκείνος
 ἀνώγει· ἀνώγει δὲ τὸν αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν
 οὐδὲν πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας 25
 ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ

Demaratus
 reiterates his
 assertion.

Θεσσαλικά, τόν τε Οὔλυμπον καὶ τὴν Xerxes views
the mouth of
the Peneus.
 Ὕσσαν, μεγάλῃ τε ὑπερμήκεα ἑόντα,
 διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος
 5 εἶναι, δι' οὐ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, ἀκούων τε εἶναι ταύτῃ
 ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας
 θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω
 ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε
 οἰκημένων ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν·
 10 ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὥς
 δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. ἐσβὰς ἐς Σι-
 δωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ, ὅπως τι
 ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήϊον καὶ τοῖσι
 ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν
 15 στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκητο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης
 τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θούματι μεγάλῃ
 ἐνέσχετο. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ
 εἶρετο, εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστι παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ
 ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος 129
 ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε Description
of Thessaly.
 συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι
 οὖρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό
 5 τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὕσσα ἀποκλήϊει, συμ-
 μίσγοντα τὰς ὑπώρεας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
 βορρῶ ἀνέμου Οὔλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην
 Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον
 νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχ-
 10 θέντων οὖρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, εὐύσα κοίλη.
 ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν
 ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα
 τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ

λιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο
 Βόργης, ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπον-
 δον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ
 ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλὴν δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ 10
 διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορ-
 βῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην,
 ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλ-
 λακάς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ
 πῦρ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ 15
 τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἑω-
 τὸν ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως
 αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

109

108 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμ-
 ποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. ἐδε-
 δούλωτο γὰρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ
 μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ δασ- 5
 μοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ
 ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. Παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος
 ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρητικὰ τείχεα,
 τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην πόλιν, τῇ
 οὖνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίη· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θα- 10
 σίων πόλις Στρώμη. διὰ δὲ σφῆων τοῦ μέσου
 Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ
 ἱδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξει στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.
 ἢ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή,
 νῦν δὲ Βριαντική, ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν 15
 λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου

Departure
from Doris-
cus.

ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον, πόλις Ἑλ-
ληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνει-
αν, Δίκαιαν, Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ March
through
Thrace.

- 5 παρεξήιε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας οὐνομαστὰς
τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρώμης κειμέ-
νην Ἴσμαρίδα· κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν
ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς τε καὶ Κόμ-
ψατος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν
10 εἶσαν οὐνομαστὴν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποτα-
μὸν δὲ Νέστον ρέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. Μετὰ δὲ
ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις
παρήιε, τῶν ἐν μῇ λίμνῃ εἶυσα τυγχάνει ὥσεί
τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἔχ-
15 θυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι
ταύτῃ οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυρος. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς
πόλεις, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας, ἐξ
εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήιε. Ἔθνεα δὲ 110
Θρητῶν, δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, Reinforce-
ment of the
host. τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, Σα-
παῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἡδωνοὶ, Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν
5 παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἴ-
ποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαίαν οἰκέοντες, κατα-
λεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι
πάντες περὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο. Σάτραι δὲ 111
οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, The Satri-
ans; their
oracle. ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελευτοῖσι τὸ
μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι, μούνοι Θρητῶν.
5 οἰκέουσίν τε γὰρ οὐρεα ὑψηλὰ, ἴδυσί τε παντοίησι
καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι,

οὔτοι, οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἔκτη-
 μένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 οὐρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρώων
 εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ 10
 χρέουσα, κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικι-
 112 λώτερον. Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰ-

The mines
 of Mt Pan-
 gaeum.

ρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο
 τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης
 ἐστὶ οὐνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτη μὲν δὴ
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς 5
 χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὐρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε
 καὶ ὑψηλὸν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι
 μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι
 113 καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. Ὑπερρικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγ-

Paeonia:
 Magian rites.

γαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας, Δό-
 βηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν ἦε
 πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὃ ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τε Στρυ-
 μόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἦρχε 5
 Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον
 ἐποιεῦμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον
 οὐρος καλέεται Φυλλῖς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς
 ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν
 Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς 10
 αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλι-

114 ρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς. Φαρμακεύσαν-

Passage of
 the Strymon.

τες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα
 πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἐννέα Ὀδοῖσι
 τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν, ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν
 Στρυμόνα εἰρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ Ὀδοὺς 5
 πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσ-

οὗτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδάς τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώντας κατώρυσσον. Περσικὸν
 δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἕμῃστριν,
 10 τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα, πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις
 ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἑόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν
 ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντι-
 χαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρα- 115
 τὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ ^{Journey through Bi-}
 αἰγιαλός, ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἄργιλον πό- ^{saltia,}
 λιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήϊε. αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε
 5 ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κόλπον
 τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδητοῦ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων, ἥϊε
 διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν
 Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς Ἀκαν-
 θον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων
 10 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὐρος οἰκόντων, ὁμοίως
 καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θά-
 λασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους,
 τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ
 ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν
 15 ἤλασε, οὔτε συγγέουσι Θρήϊκες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι,
 σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα 116
 ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπίκητο, ξεινίην τε ὁ ^{and Acan-}
 Πέρσης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε, καὶ ^{thus.}
 ἐδωρήσαντό σφας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ, ἐπαίνεέ τε
 5 ὀρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἑόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον,
 καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ 117
 δὲ ἑόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνικε ὑπὸ νούσου ^{Death of Ar-}
 ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος ^{tachaeas ;}
^{honours paid to him.}

- Ἄρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ
γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἔοντα 5
Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιληῶν
ἀπέλιπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνέοντά τε μέγισ-
τον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξεα, συμφορὴν ποιη-
σάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα
καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. 10
τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεο-
προπίου ὡς ἡρωῖ, ἐποννομάζοντες τὸ οὖνομα. βα-
σιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίου
118 ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν. Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλή-
νων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρ-
<sup>Entertain-
ment of the
host.</sup> ξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε
ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θα-
σίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέ- 5
ρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δει-
πνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν
ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε·
ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετε-
119 λεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλ-
<sup>Ruinous ex-
penditure.</sup> λησι πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν
τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι
ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ
περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεύμενον. τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο 5
τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δα-
σάμενοι σίτον ἐν τῇσι πόλισι οἱ ἄστοι ἄλευρά τε
καὶ ἄλφита ἐποίευν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς·
τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα σιτεύεσκον, ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς
τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ 10
λιμναίους ἐν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑπο-

δοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεά τε καὶ
 ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τίθεται πάντα. ταῦτα
 15 μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ'
 ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς
 φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ
 στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη, ἐς τὴν
 αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεέσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη
 20 στρατιή ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος· ὥς δὲ δεῖπνον γίνοιτο
 ὄρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχουσιν πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως
 πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ
 τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπᾶσαντες καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα
 λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδέν,
 ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος, ἀνδρὸς 120
 Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ^{Megacreon's}
 ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, πανδημεῖ, ^{bon mot.}
 αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ,
 5 ἕζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ
 λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ
 ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφί μεγάλην
 χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης
 ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι. παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδη-
 10 ρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προεῖρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δεῖπνῳ
 παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα,
 ἢ καταμείναντας, κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων δια-
 τριβῆναι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπι-
 τασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι 121
 στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπο- ^{Separation}
 μένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πο- ^{of army and}
^{fleet.}

ρεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ
 κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν 5
 ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντο-
 μώτατον εἶναι. Μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε
 τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέ-
 ετο. τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν
 πεζὸν στρατὸν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασ- 10
 σαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρα-
 τήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης· ἐτέρῃ δὲ
 τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορὶς τὴν μεσό-
 γαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ
 Γέργις. ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπο- 15
 ρεύετο αὐτὸς ὁ Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων,
 στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ
 122 Μεγάβυζον. Ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, ὡς
 ἀπείθῃ ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω, καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν
Course of the fleet. διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῶ γενομένην, διέ-
 χουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον, ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλιν καὶ
 Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκννται, ἐνθεῦτεν, 5
 ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιὴν παρέ-
 λαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον.
 κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον, τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην,
 παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν νέας
 τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην, Γαληψὸν, 10
 Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν, Ὀλυνθον. ἡ μὲν νυν
 123 χώρα αὕτῃ Σιθωνίῃ καλεῖται. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς
Arrival at Therma. στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω, συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμ-
 πέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Κανάστραιον ἄκρην, τὸ
 δὴ πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐν-
 τεῦθεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ 5

- Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης Πόλιος καὶ
 Αἰγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ
 Σάνης· αὐταὶ γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην,
 πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην, νεμόμεναι.
- 10 Παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ
 προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμυρεουσέων
 δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι
 τάδε, Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμ-
 15 ψα, Σμίλα, Αἰνεία. ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη
 ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καλέεται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν
 ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη
 ἐς αὐτὸν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ
 ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην.
- 20 πλέων δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην
 καὶ Σινδὸν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην, ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀξιον ποταμὸν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην
 τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν
 στεῖνδον χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.
- Ἄρ' ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιον 124
 ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς Course of the
army.
 μεταξὺ πόλεις τούτων, περιμένων βασι-
 λέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς
 5 στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, τὴν μεσό-
 γαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην
 ἀπικέσθαι. ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ
 Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχειδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρη-
 στωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας,
 10 καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.
 Πορευομένοι δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι 125

The camels
attacked by
lions.

σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκερααῖζον μούνας. θωυμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν, τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μῆτε πρότερον ὁπώπεσαν θηρίον, μῆτ' ἐπεπειράετο

- 126 αὐτοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ, καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρα ὑπερμεγάθέα ἐστὶ, τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὗρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσί ἐστὶ ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ

- 127 τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπῖκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἴδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσὴνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδῖέω τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδαν τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τῷτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι. τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωνίης ῥέων Ἐχέιδωρος μούνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.

- 128 Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης οὖρεα τὰ

Animals of
the district.

Halt at
Therma.

Θεσσαλικὰ, τὸν τε Οὐλυμπον καὶ τὴν ^{Xerxes views}
 "Οσσαν, ^{the mouth of} μεγάθει τε ὑπερμήκεα ^{the Peneus.} εόντα,
 διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος
 5 εἶναι, δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, ἀκούων τε εἶναι ταύτη
 ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσιν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας
 θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω
 ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε
 οἰκημένων ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν·
 10 ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὥς
 δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. ἐσβὰς ἐς Σι-
 δωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ, ὅπως τι
 ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήϊον καὶ τοῖσι
 ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν
 15 στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκητο καὶ ἐθέσατο Ξέρξης
 τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θούματι μεγάλῳ
 ἐνέσχετο. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ
 εἶρετο, εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔστι παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ
 ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος 129
 ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε
 συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ^{Description}
 οὖρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό ^{of Thessaly.}
 5 τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ "Οσσα ἀποκλήϊει, συμ-
 μίσγοντα τὰς ὑπώρεας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
 βορρῶ ἀνέμου Οὐλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην
 Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον
 νότον ἡ "Οθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχ-
 10 θέντων οὖρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, εὐῶσα κοίλῃ.
 ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν
 ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα
 τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ

βλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν 5
 ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρό-
 τατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὅπισω δὲ περὶ
 ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων ἦξειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. Ἐγέ-
 νετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι·
 ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσιν αἰδοῖα, τὰ 10
 μὲν ἔρσενος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης, κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ
 58 ἔρσενος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησά-
Arrival at Doriscus. μενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ
 ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ἔξω τὸν
 Ἑλλησποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὴν ἔμ-
 παλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς 5
 15,5 ἐσπέρην ἐπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης τὴν ἀπικτιν
 ποιεύμενος, εἰς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ
 περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῶ
 τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς
 Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον 10
 τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ
 μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος, τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει
 εἶον Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον
 τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν,
 οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον, ἀλλ' 15
 ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὐ
 καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἥτις πρὸς
 ἐσπέρην, Αἰνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα
 αἰλ. 59 λίμνην παρεξιών, εἰς δὲ ἀπικέτο εἰς Δορίσκον. Ὁ
Numbering of the host. δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρητικής αἰγιαλὸς
 τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ρέει
 ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος, ἐν τῷ τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο
 βασιλῆϊον τοῦτο, τὸ δὲ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ 5

Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου
 ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρα-
 τεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπι-
 τήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν.^{μακρ}
 10 καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας
 ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος
 Ξέρξεω, ἐς τὸν αἰγαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ
 ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκική πεπόλισται.^{αἰ}
 πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ, Σέρρειον,
 15 ἄκρη οὐνομαστή· ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν
 Κικόων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες
 τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεγκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ
 Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν
 ἐποιέετο. Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρῆχον πλήθος 80
 ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ
 λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ
 τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομή-⁷⁰
 5 κοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. Ἐξηρίθησαν δὲ
 τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον
 μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὥς
 μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περι-
 γράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασίην
 10 περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν
 ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες
 ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέ-
 χρις οὐ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθησαν·
 ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.^{οὐκ ἐξ}
 Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν 81
 ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον
 τῖάρας καλομένους, πῖλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ

σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτῶς ποικίλους, λεπίδος
 σιδηρῆς ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδῆς, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα 5
 ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα. ὑπὸ δὲ φαρ-
 τρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα
 δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνοὺς, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχει-
 ρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ
 τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, 10
 τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός.
 Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες,
 ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιολίκων Ἀρ-
 ταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς
 ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ 15
 τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς, τῷ
 οὖνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ κατα-
 λείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἅπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσεως
 γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.
 62 Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρα-
 τεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ
 Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο
 Τιγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι
 πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς 5
 Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους,
 μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ
 σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρα-
 τευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευά-
 दाτο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισ- 10
 σίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ἑρκάνιοι δὲ
 κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχό-
 μενοι Μεγάπανον, τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων
 63 ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ

μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ
 πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπὴ-
 γητον· ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια
 5 παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ
 ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους
 θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο
 Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλή-
 θησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι· ἦρχε δὲ
 σφεων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχαίου. Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ 64
 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχον-
 τες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ
 αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν
 5 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὄξυ ἀπιγμένας ὀρθὰς
 εἶχον πεπηγυῖας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα
 δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας
 σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ, ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυρ-
 γίους, Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς
 10 Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων
 ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς
 Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65
 ξύλων πεπονημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ
 οἰστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλ-
 μένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοι· προσετετάχατο
 5 δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάτew.
 Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοις μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδι- 66
 κοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ
 ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χορά-
 σμιοι, καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι,
 5 τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι,
 ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Πάρθων μὲν

- καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεω, Σογδῶν
 δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων
 67 Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρας τε
 ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχον-
 τες καὶ ἀκινάκας, ἐστρατεύοντο. οὔτοι μὲν οὕτω
 ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν
 Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. Σαραγγαὶ δὲ εἴματα μὲν 5
 βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ
 ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς·
 Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.
 Πάκτυες δὲ σισυροφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπι-
 χώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα 10
 68 παρείχοντο Ἀρτύνην τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὔτιοι δὲ
 καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν
 κατὰ περ Πάκτυες· τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Οὐτίων
 μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων
 69 δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χειράς
 ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς
 δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ
 λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος
 σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ 5
 ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς σμικροὺς· ἀντὶ
 δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὴν λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ
 τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι. πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον·
 ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὴν ὀξὺ πεποιημένον,
 τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά 10
 τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύνῃ,
 ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ μίλτῳ. Ἀρα-
 βίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκη-
 μένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης

15 τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξαι τῶν
 γυναικῶν Δαρείος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποι-
 ῆσατο. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθίοπων καὶ
 Ἀραβίων ἤρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνα- 70
 τολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσ-
 ετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος
 μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα
 5 μῦνον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες
 εἰσι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα
 ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὺ
 ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι
 10 κεφαλῇσι, σὺν τε τοῖσι ὥσθι ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ
 λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ
 δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον, προ-
 βλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεύντο γεράνων
 δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἥϊσαν 71
 ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι.
 ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου.
 Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφα- 72
 λῇσι ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια
 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπι-
 5 χώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ
 καὶ Ματιηνοὶ, καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι, τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι, ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ
 Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδοκαὶ καλέονται.
 Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ
 10 Μεγασίδρου ἤρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύνων
 καὶ Συρίων Γωβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυ-

- 73 *στώνης*. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπαϊοὶ ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ 5 χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἀποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἡρχε
- 74 Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 5 εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἀποικοι, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὔρεος καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἡρχε Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα 10
- 75 ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας 5 καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ
- 76 Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἡρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.....ἀσπίδας δὲ ἀμοβοῖνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο

λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι
 5 κράνεα χάλκεα, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ
 κέρα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι·
 τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίσχато.
 ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.
 Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηῖνες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, 77
 τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευὴν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν
 κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε
 σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον
 5 καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα
 μετεξέτεροι Λυκία, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ
 διφθερέων πεπονημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων
 ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν 78
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλῖνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ
 καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικρὰς, λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι.
 Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι κατὰ
 5 περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους
 δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ
 Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ
 Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ
 καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, δς
 Σηστόν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες 79
 δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ
 εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια.
 Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα,
 5 ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοτῖνας σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς τε βρα-
 χέας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρώων δὲ καὶ
 Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλα-
 ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ὥπλισ-
 μένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρο-

80 *μίτρεω ἦρχε.* Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίξει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρ-⁵ δόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81 Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον οὗτοι, ὅπερ εἰρέαται· καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἑκατον-⁵ τάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες. ἦσαν μὲν

82 δὴ οὗτοι, ὅπερ εἰρέαται, ἄρχοντες. Ἔστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρα-
Names of the Generals. τοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδονίου τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου, τοῦ γνῶμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ⁵ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω (Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοὶ) καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀρίζου, καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

83 Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων. τῶν δὲ μυρίων
The 'Immortal' corps. τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τούδε· εἴ τις⁵ αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο αὖ-

δαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. Κόσ-
 μον δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι,
 10 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην
 εἶχον, ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ χρυσόν τε πολλόν
 καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον. ἄρμαμάξας τε
 ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπῆτην πολ-
 λὴν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην. σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς
 15 τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια
 ἦγον.

Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα 84
 παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μούνα. Πέρσαι
 μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν·
 πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν
 5 καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.
 Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεοί-
 μνοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ
 μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ
 τῆς Πακτικῆς, οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισ-
 10 χιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα
 οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων. χρέωνται δὲ σει-
 ρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτησι πίσυνοι
 ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγῃσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι,
 10 βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς, ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας.
 ὅτεν δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου,
 ἐπ' ἐωντόν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι
 διαφθείρονται. τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ
 ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ 86
 ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως.
 Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ

τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα 20
τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε.

- 145 Συλληγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων [τῶν] τὰ ἀμείνων φρο-
Council on
the Isthmus;
union of
patriots. νέοντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ
πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι
αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσ- 5
σεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους
έοντας πολέμους. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους
ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ
Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ
στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκό- 10
πους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγ-
μάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθη-
σομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους
πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἔς τε Κέρ-
κυραν, κελεύοντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς 15
Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο
τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸν τῶν πρήσ-
σοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι
Ἑλλήσι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέ-
γετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλῶν 20

- 146 μέζω. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι
Mission of
spies to Asia;
magnanimity
of Xerxes. τὰς ἔχθρας, πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους
πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς.
οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ κατα-
μαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὡς ἐπαίστοι ἐγέ- 5
νοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ
πεζοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀπήγοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοι. καὶ
τοῖσι μὲν κατακέκριτο θάνατος. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς

καὶ διηκόσαιο καὶ χίλιοι· παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς
οἶδε· Φοῖνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοισι τοῖσι ἐν
τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἔσκεν- The Fleet:
Egyptians
and Phoeni-
cians.
5 ασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας
εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεπονημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλλη-
νικὸν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ
ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ
οἱ Φοῖνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι,
10 ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες
τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν. τῆς δὲ
Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου
πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας
παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν
15 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλεντὰ, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας,
τὰς ἴτυς μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα
καὶ τύκους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρη-
κοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον. οὗτοι
μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἔσκευασμένοι Cyprians
: ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίσχαιτο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασι-
λέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα
5 κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. Τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά
ἔστι· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ
ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ
Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι
λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. 91
οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι Cilicians and
Pamphylians
: κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήϊά τε εἶχον αὐτ'
ἀσπίδων, ὠμοβοέης πεπονημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρι-
5 νέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ

καίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες.
καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον
δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν <sup>Islanders,
Aeolians,
Helleston-
tians.</sup>
5 λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ
ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρεί-
χοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὸ πάλαι
καλεόμενοι Πελασγοὶ, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλ-
λησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γάρ
10 προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος, κατὰ χώρην μένουσι,
φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ
Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν
νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες· οὗτοι
δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι 96
καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα <sup>Inferior
officers.</sup>
πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ
Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. Τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς
5 τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἑκάστοις
ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη
ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι.
οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες,
ἐν τε ἔθνεϊ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλεις, τοσοῦτοι καὶ
10 ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοί, ἀλλ'
ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ στρα-
τηγοὶ τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες
τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι,
εἰρέαται μοι. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε· 97
Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρη- <sup>Commanders
of the fleet.</sup>
ξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω, καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ
Μεγαβάτεω, καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου. τῆς μὲν

- Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίνης, ὁ 5
 Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς,
 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν
 ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεὸς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς
 ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντη-
 κόντεροι καὶ κέρκouroι καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα 1
 μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρι-
 98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρα-
 τηγοὺς οἶδε ἦσαν οἱ οὐνομαστότατοι·
Tributary potentates. Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύ-
 ριος Μάπην Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος
 Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος καὶ 5
 Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα· καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος
 τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω· καὶ
 Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω, καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Σελ-
 99 δώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μέν
Special men-
tion of Artemisia. νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνηται ταξιαρχέων,
 ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ,
 τῆς μάλιστα θωῦμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 στρατευσαμένης, γυναικὸς, ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ 5
 ἀνδρός, αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ παιδὸς
 ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρῆτης
 ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὐ-
 νομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν
 Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς 10
 πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ
 Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κώων καὶ Νισυρίων τε
 καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. καὶ συνα-
 πάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας 1
 εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων 15

γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέ-
 λεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀπο-
 φαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικὸν, Ἀλικαρνησσεᾶς μὲν Τροί-
 ζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. Ἐς μὲν
 20 τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται. K

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ 100
 στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξε- Xerxes sur-
veys the
forces.
 λάσας θεήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα,
 καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκα-
 5 στον ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμμα-
 τισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπῖκετο καὶ
 τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπε-
 ποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν,
 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα
 10 Σιδωνίην ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ, καὶ παρέπλεε
 παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας
 ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὺν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ the sea
around
 νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα
 πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρῶρας
 15 ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες, πάντες μετωπηδὸν καὶ ἐξο-
 πλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δ' then
 ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰ-
 γιαλοῦ.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ 101
 τῆς νεὸς, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν He questions
Demaratus.
 Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε·
 5 Δημάρητε, νῦν μοί σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπείρεσθαι τὰ
 θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν τε καὶ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι
 σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς

ὑπὲρ Γέλῃς οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν,
 ἐσσωθέντες στάσι. τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατή-
 γαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν,
 ἀλλ' ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἡ 15
 αὐτὸς ἐκτίσατο, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. τούτοισι δ'
 ὦν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι
 αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θωῦμά μοι
 ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργά-
 σασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ 20
 ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γενέ-
 σθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης
 ἀνδρείης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν
 οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυ-
 δρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ. οὐτῶ μὲν νυν 25

154

He gains distinction under Hippocrates of Gela.

ἐκτίσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. Κλεάνδρου
 δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν
 βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλῃς ἑπτὰ
 ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου, ἀν-
 δρὸς Γελῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μου- 5
 ναρχίην Ἴπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός.
 ἔχοντος δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα ὁ Γέλων,
 ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν
 μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ, ὃς ἦν
 δορυφόρος Ἴπποκράτεος μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν 10
 χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι
 ἵππαρχος. πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλ-
 λιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ
 Λευντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν
 βαρβάρων συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι 15
 τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν

δὲ εἶπον πολίων τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων
 οὐδεμία πέφευγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος.
 Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι
 20 ἔρρυσαντο, μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ.
 ἔρρυσαντο δὲ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τοισίδε καταλλάξαντες,
 ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάριναν Συρηκουσίους
 παραδοῦναι. Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ
 ἀρχαῖον. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεα, τυραννεύσαντα 155
 ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ, κατέ-
 λαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλῇ, στρα-
 τευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὴ
 5 ὁ Γέλων, τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴππο-
 κράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ
 βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι,
 τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν,
 ἦρχε αὐτὸς, ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος
 10 παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὔρημα, τοὺς γαμήρους
 καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων
 δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ
 Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ
 15 ταύτας. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπιόντι
 Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. Ὁ δὲ 156
 ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας,
 Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω
 ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελ-
 5 φῷ ἑωυτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ
 ἦσαν ἅπαντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι. αἱ δὲ παραντίκα
 ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
 Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν

He succeeds
 to the tyran-
 ny, and wins
 Syracuse, &c.
 491.

Rise of Syra-
 cuse; policy
 of Gelo.

πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέ-
 σκαψε· τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν 10
 τῶντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε. Μεγαρέας τε
 τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην
 προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας ἀειραμέ-
 νους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ, καὶ προσδοκέοντας ἀπο-
 λέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας 15
 πολιήτας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων,
 οὐκ ἔοντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου, οὐδὲ
 προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν
 καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἀπέδoto ἐπ’
 ἰξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας 20
 τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίησε δὲ
 ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι
 συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ
 τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

- 157 Τότε δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπῖκατο
 ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς
 λόγους, ἔλεγον τάδε· Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας
 Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
 οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμφομένους σε πρὸς 5
 τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 πάντως κου πυνθάνει, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει,
 ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν
 ἡοῖον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλατῆσειν ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος, ὡς ἐπ’ 10
 Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλ-
 λάδα ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. Σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε
 ἡκεῖς μεγάλης, καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ
 ἐλαχίστη μέτα, ἀρχοντί γε Σικελίης· βοήθει τε

Speech of the
 Greek en-
 voya.

- 15 τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου.
 ἄλης μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, χεῖρ
 μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι
 ἐπιούσι· ἦν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι, οἱ
 δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλά-
 20 δος ἢ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὴ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται, μὴ πέσῃ
 πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. Μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας κατα-
 στρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἤξει
 παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι, βοηθέων
 γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωυτῷ τιμωρέεις. τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι
 25 πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει
 ἐπυγίνεσθαι. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον. Γέλων δὲ 158
 πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιαύδε· Ἄνδρες
 Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην
 ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρ-
 5 βαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν. αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἐμεῦ
 πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπά-
 ψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συν-
 ἦπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξ-
 ανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι,
 10 ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν, ἀπ’
 ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσιες γεγό-
 νασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε βοηθήσαντες, οὔτε
 τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι· τὸ δὲ κατ’
 ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροις νέμεται.
 15 ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη·
 νῦν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπίκται
 ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνήστις γέγονε. Ἀτι-
 μίης δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν,
 ἀλλ’ ἐτοιμός εἰμι βοηθεῖν, παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας

Reply of
Gelo: his
offer and
demand.

τε τριήρεας, καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλὴν 20
 ἵππων, καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους
 σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς·
 σίτον τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ' ἂν
 διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. Ἐπὶ δὲ
 λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε 25
 καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρ-
 βαρον· ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι,
 159 οὐτ' ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε
 ἡνέσχετο ὁ Σύναγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε· Ἡ
Indignation
of the Spar-
tan envoy. κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμ-
 νων, πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμο-
 νίην ἀπαιρηθῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκου- 5
 σίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς,
 ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν. ἀλλ', εἰ
 μὲν βούλει βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι,
 160 σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
Second
proposal of
Gelo. Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὦρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς
 λόγους τοῦ Σύναγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι
 τόνδε ἐξέφηνε λόγον· Ὡ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνειδέα
 κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. 5
 σὺ μέντοι, ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ,
 οὐ με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι.
 ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας,
 οἶκός καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρα-
 τιῆς τε εἶντα πολλαπλασίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν 10
 πολὺν πλεύνων. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος
 οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξο-
 μεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου. εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς

- ἡγέισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ
 15 τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ
 θέλω. καὶ ἡ τοῦτοισι ὑμέας χρεῶν ἔστι ἀρέσκε-
 σθαι, ἡ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους. Γέλων
 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετίνειτο. Φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθη- 161
 ναίων ἀγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμεί-
 βετό μιν τοισίδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρη- Answer of
the Athenian
envoy.
 κουσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς
 5 ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δέ,
 ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος, οὐ προφαίνεις· ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις
 αὐτῆς, γλίχεται· ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλή-
 νων στρατοῦ ἐδέου ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι
 10 Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς ὁ
 Λάκων ἱκανὸς τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἀπολογεύμενος· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαυ-
 νόμενος, δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι.
 οὐδ', ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῇ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς
 15 ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γάρ ἐστι αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν
 βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τοῦτοισι μὲν ὦν ἡγέε-
 σθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρή-
 σομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχεῖν. μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάρα-
 λον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἶημεν ἐκτημένοι,
 20 εἰ Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν
 τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμε-
 νοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων, τῶν
 καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς
 Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρα-
 25 τόν. οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἔστι λέγειν
 ταῦτα. Ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοισίδε· Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε,

ὕμεις οἶκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρ-
 ζομένους οὐκ ἔξειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν
 ὑπιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν
 φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασ- 5
 σόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος
 τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ, ὥς
 ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν. στερι- 10
 σκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἑωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἰ-
 καζε, ὥς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαίρημένον εἴη.

163 Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγγελιοὶ, τοσαῦτα
 τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματίζαμενοι, ἀπέπλεον.
 Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ
 τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρ-
 βαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν 5
 ποιησάμενος, ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὑρχεσθαι
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην
 μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἵχετο. Ἐπεί
 τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ 10
 Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω, ἄνδρα Κῶνον, ἐς Δελφούς,
 ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, κατα-
 δοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην, τῇ πεσέεται· καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ
 βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ
 γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων· ἦν δὲ οἱ 15

164 Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν. Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος,
 πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ
 πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶνον εὖ βεβη-
 κυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος

Gelo breaks
off the con-
ference.

Neutrality of
Gelo; mission
of Cadmus.

History of
Cadmus; his
integrity.

5 οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κόφοισι
καταθείς τὴν ἀρχὴν, οἷχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ
Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν
ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὐνομα. τοῦτον
δὴ ὦν ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ
10 ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην
συνήδεε εἶναι, ἔπεμπε, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
δικαίοισι τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι καὶ τότε
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ
μεγάλων χρημάτων, τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο,
15 παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε· ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ οἱ
"Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, καὶ Ξέρξης
οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκείνος ἀπῆκετο ἐς
τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκη- 165

μένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἀρχεσθαι
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε
ἀν τοῖσι "Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος
5 τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου, Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρ-
χου, ἐξελαθεῖς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου,
τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης, ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον
τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ
Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων
10 τριήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλ-
καν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα,
κατὰ ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας,
καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προ-
θυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα
15 δούς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγέ μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην,
τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ· Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγα-

Different ac-
count given
by the
Sicilians:
Carthaginian
invasion.

τέρα Ἀναξίλειως, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀποπέμπειν εἰς Δελφούς τὰ χρήματα.

166 Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς

Battle of
Himera; dis-
appearance
of Hamilcar.

ἡμέρης ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρ-

σσην. Τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν, Καρχηδόνιον ἔοντα πρὸς 5 πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκούσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπέξελθεῖν 10

167 διζήμενον Γέλωνα. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχη-

Carthaginian
explanation.

δονίων ὅδε ὁ λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεω- μένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι 5 τὴν σύστασιν· ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιρέετο, ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων· ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἐωυτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω 10 δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ, ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ, ὡς Συρηκούσιοι, Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλινσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε 15 μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.

- Κερκυραῖοι δὲ, τὰδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέ- 168
 λοισι, τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους Embassy to
Corcyra;
treachery of
the Corcy-
raeans.
 παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ, οἵπερ καὶ ἐς
 Σικελίην ἀπίκατο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 5 λόγους, τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον. οἱ δὲ παρ-
 αὐτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν,
 φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιοπτή ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς
 ἀπολλυμένη· ἣν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 ἢ δουλεύουσιν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ
 10 τιμωρητέον εἶη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον. Ὑπεκρίναντο
 μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα
 νοεῦντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα· μόγις δὲ ἀνα-
 χθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ
 Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνε-
 15 κώχενον τὰς νέας, καταδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν
 πόλεμον, τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλη-
 νας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃν, κατα-
 κρατήσαντα πολλὸν, ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
 Ἐποίουν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν
 20 λέγειν τοιάδε· Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβα-
 νόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον,
 ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίσ-
 τας παρασχόντες ἂν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε
 Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἐθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οὐδέ
 25 τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι. Τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἡλπιζον
 πλεόν τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐγέ-
 νετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνάς σφι
 σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιω-
 μένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν
 30 πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων

ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι·
οὔτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμὴ
κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. Οὔτοι μὲν
οὔτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

- 169 Κρήτες δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ
Embassy to
Crete; warn-
ing of the
Oracle.
τούτοισι ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν
τοιόνδε. Πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς
Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων, εἴ σφι ἄμει-
νον γίνεται τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 5
ὑπεκρίνατο· ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν
ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε
μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο
αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ
ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς 10
βαρβάρου γυναῖκα. Ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπε-
170 νευχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας. Λέγεται
Cretan tradi-
tions: ex-
pedition to
Sicily; settle-
ment in Ia-
pygia.
γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπι-
κόμενον ἐς Σικανίην, τὴν νῦν Σικελίην
καλευμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ.
ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύ- 5
ναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισιῶν,
ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορ-
κείν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Κάμικον, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ
Ἀκραγαγνῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ, οὐ δυναμένους
οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν, λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, 10
ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην
γενέσθαι πλώοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα
μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν. συναραχθέντων δὲ
τῶν πλοίων (οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς
Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι), ἐνθαῦτα Ἴτρην πόλιν κτί- 15

σαντας, καταμείναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ
 μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ
 δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑτρίης
 πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὴ Ταραντῖνοι
 20 χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἑξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν
 μεγάλως, ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος
 δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε
 Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ
 Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ ἀπικόμενοι
 25 τιμωροὶ Ταραντῖνοισι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω·
 αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ
 Μίκυθος, οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλεω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου
 καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος, ὅσπερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου
 καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν
 Ὀλυμπῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. Ἄλλα τὰ 171
 μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίους τε καὶ Ταραντίνους <sup>History of
the island.</sup>
 τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε. Ἐς δὲ
 τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθείσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι,
 5 ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα
 Ἕλληνας· τρίτη δὲ γενεὴ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτή-
 σαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκὰ, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυρο-
 τάτους φαίνεσθαι ἔοντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέ-
 λεω. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης
 10 λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμόν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ
 τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε, τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης
 Κρήτης, μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν
 νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα
 ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμή- 172
 δισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἤνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευά-

δαι ἐμχανέωντο. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα
 μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐς τὴν
 Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀγ- 5
 γέλους. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλίσ-
 μένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρη-
 μένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων
 περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν
 Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον· Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, 10
 δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Οὐλυμπικὴν,
 ἵνα Θεσσαλίῃ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐν
 σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐτοῖμοί εἰμεν
 συμφυλάσσειν· πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν
 πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας 15
 ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ. οὐ γάρ τοι προκατημένους
 τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, μούνους πρὸ
 ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι
 ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τέ ἐστε προσφέρειν·
 οὐδὰμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφυ· 20
 ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχαν-
 νεώμενοι. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί.
 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύ-
 σαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θά-
 λασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν, φυλάζοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν.
 ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου· 5
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐς Ἄλωνα, ἀποβάς
 ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατα-
 λιπών· καὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν,
 ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην
 φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμ- 10
 που τε οὖρεος ἑόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα

Account of
 affairs at the
 Isthmus re-
 sumed:
 envoys from
 Thessaly.

173 Despatch of
 troops to
 Tempe; mes-
 sage from
 Alexander.

ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους
 ὀπλίται συλλεγέμεντες· καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ τῶν
 Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
 15 μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου, ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων
 ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλεῖτος,
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος. Ἔμειναν
 δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα. ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι
 παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω, ἀνδρὸς Μακε-
 20 δόνος, συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδὲ
 μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος τε τῆς
 στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὕτοί σφι ταῦτα
 συνεβούλευον (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλευεῖν,
 25 καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών), ἐπεί-
 θοντο. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἄρρωδίῃ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς
 ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς
 κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ
 Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ
 30 Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας,
 ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. Αὕτη ἐγένετο 174
 ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατηγία, βασιλέος τε
 μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Thessaly
medises.
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσα-
 5 λοι δὲ, ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων, οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν
 προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι
 πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρη-
 σιμώτατοι.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπύκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, 175
 ἐβουλευόντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξ- Points of
resistance
decided on.
 ἀνδρου, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ

ἐν οἷοις χώροις. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν
 ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινότερῃ 5
 γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἶσθα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ μία, ἀγ-
 χοτέρῃ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτράπῳν, δι' ἣν
 ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι,
 οὐδὲ ἴδεσαν εἶσθαι πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς
 Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν 10
 ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ
 παρίεναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ
 ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαίας ἐπὶ
 Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ,
 ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἐκατέρους εἶντα· οἳ 15
 176 τε χώροι οὕτως ἔχουσι. Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον·
 ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος
 συναγεται ἐς στεινὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ
 εἶντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου
 Μαγνησίδος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐ- 5
 βοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν δὲ
 Ἀρτεμίδος ἰρόν. Ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος
 ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον.
 οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς
 χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε τε Θερμοπυλέων 10
 καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοῦς ὀπισθε εἶντας
 εἶσθα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα
 ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς ἄλλη
 μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπερίης
 οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατεῖ- 15
 νον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ
 θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγχα. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ
 ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ

Description
 of Artemi-
 sium and
 Thermo-
 pylae.

2020.01.01

ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι.
 20 ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ
 τὸ γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες
 τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ
 Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντας γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ
 νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
 25 καταστρέφεσθαι σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ
 Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χώρος, πᾶν
 μηχανεώμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσ-
 σαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. Τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ
 30 ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλέον
 αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῖς
 ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά-
 δος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς
 ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὐνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι
 ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. Οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι 177
 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι.
 ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλο-
 γισθέντες, ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι χρᾶ-
 5 σθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί
 ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς
 δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυ-
 θέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν
 ἐς Θερμοπύλας περὶ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν
 10 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον δια- 178
 ταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ὑπὲρ
 ἐωντῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδι-

Dissolution
of the Coun-
cil. Prepara-
tions for
defence.

Encouraging
message from
Delphi.

κότες. καί σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὐχεσθαι· 5
 μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμ-
 μάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήϊον, πρῶτα
 μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέ-
 ροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι· καί σφι
 δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαν· 10
 τες, χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν
 Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ
 τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χώρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυ-
 μίην ἔχει· καὶ θυσίῃσι σφεας μετήϊσαν. Δελφοὶ 15
 μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς
 ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται.

179 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς, ὀρμεόμενος ἐκ
 Θέρμης πόλιος, παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι
 ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου,
 ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς
 Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνὴ τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη 5
 καὶ Ἀττική. προῖδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς
 νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

180 Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνὴν, τῆς ἤρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα
 αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἔπειτα
 τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύνοντα ἀγαγόν-
 τες ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρης τῆς νηὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον
 ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ 5
 κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα
 ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύ-
 181 ροιτο. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτρηιάρρχεε Ἀσω-
 νίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε,
 Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενέου ἐπιβατεύνοντος,

Advance of
 Persians
 from Ther-
 male Gulf.
 Encounter
 with three
 Greek ships:
 sacrifice of
 Leo.

Heroism of
 Pythes the
 Aeginetan.

ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην,
 5 ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὺς ἡλίσκετο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀντείχε
 μαχόμενος, ἐς ὃ κατεκρουρήθη ἅπας. ὥς δὲ
 πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι,
 οἵπερ ἐπεβάτευν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν
 ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιή-
 10 σαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδό-
 νος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατειλίσσοντες. καὶ μιν,
 ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον,
 ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ,
 περιέποντες εὖ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, τοὺς ἔλαβον
 15 ἐν τῇ νηϊ ταύτῃ, περιεῖπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα.
 Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν. 182
 ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτρηιράρχες Φόρμος, Retreat of
the Greek
fleet to
Chalcia.
 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς
 τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν
 5 σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν
 οὐ. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες, κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευό-
 μενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλλη-
 νες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι πυνθά-
 10 νονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιαθου. πυνθόμενοι δὲ
 καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετῴρ-
μίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, near
 λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς
 Εὐβοίης. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς 183
 ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν
 Σκιαθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ
 Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ
 5 στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα,

ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο, ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν 10 δὲ πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιίδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

- 184 Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πληθὸς ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τόσον· τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἐουσέων 5 ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἐόντα ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζόμενοισι ἐν ἐκάστῃ νηϊ. ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτέων τῶν 10 νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς 15 ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὃ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσαν, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν 20 μοι εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὧν ἄνδρες ἂν εἴεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. Τοῦτο μὲν 20 νυν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σίμπαν ἐὼν

Numbers of
the Persian
host esti-
mated : Asi-
atic forces.

- πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες τε ἔπεισι ἐπὶ
 ταύτησι ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.
 Τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες
 25 ἐγίνοντο, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ³⁰⁰⁰ μυριάδες. προσ-
 θήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνον-
 τας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλήθος
 ποιήσας δις²⁰⁰⁰ μύριους ἄνδρας. Καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν
 νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλήθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται
 30 διηκόσια²⁰⁰⁰ τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ
 πρὸς χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.
 Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα
 ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπηΐδης τῆς
 ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων, καὶ ὅσοι
 ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης 185
 ἀγόμενον στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα
 τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ. δόκησιν
 40 δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρητ-
 5 κης Ἑλλήνες καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων
 τῇ Θρητικῇ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. ἐκ μὲν
 νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ
 10 δις μύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ, τὸν Θρητικὸν παρεί-
 χοντο, καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ
 Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιήνες καὶ Δόλο-
 15 πες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρητ-
 κῆς τὴν παράλιν³⁰⁰⁰ νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων
 τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὗται ὦν αἱ
 15 μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθείσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίης, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι
 μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρες,

European
reinforce-
ments.

ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι ἑκατοντάδες· ἑκαίδεκα καὶ
 186 δεκάς. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἔοντος ἀριθμὸν
 τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπῆτην τὴν ἐπομένην
 τοῦτοις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι
 ἀκάτοισι ἔοντας, καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι
 ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, 5
 τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσ-
 σοντας, ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἴσους
 ἐκείνοισι εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσοντας
 οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὔτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι
 τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνησι. Οὕτω πεντηκοσίας τε 10
 μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς
 καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἡγαγὲ
 Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυ-
 187 λέων. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ
 Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός. γυναικῶν
 δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνοί-
 χων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑπο-
 ζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων, 5
 καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων
 ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. Ὡστε
 οὐδέν μοι θωῦμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα
 τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τὰ
 σιτία ἀντέχρησε, θωῦμά μοι, μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. 10
 εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν
 ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλεόν,
 ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένας ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ
 ἐκάστη, καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους
 καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ 15
 ὑποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶ, οὐ λογίζομαι. Ἀνδρῶν δ'

Camp fol-
 lowers: total
 6,283,220.

Estimated
 consumption
 of food.

έουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα
καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδείς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ
Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

- ‘Ο δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθεὶς 188
ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας
ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης
τε πόλιος ἔοντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ
5 μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ’
ἐπ’ ἐκείνησι ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
ἔοντος οὐ μεγάλου πρόκροσσαι ὥρμεοντο ἐς πόντον
καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω,
ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ, ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θα-
10 λίσσης ξεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ
πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπὴλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίνην
καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι· ὅσοι
μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ
τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ’ ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα
15 ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν
καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν. ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας
ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους
τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ
αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον· αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελί-
20 βοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο.
ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. Λέγεται δὲ 189
λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεο-
προπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι
ἄλλου χρηστηρίου, τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκου-
5 ρον καλέεσθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων
λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὀρείθυιαν τὴν
Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
x καὶ ἡ νῆπιος οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑσπερίου τοῦ

Violent
storm: ship-
wreck of the
Persians.

Gratitude of
the Athe-
nians to
Boreas.

170 Theophrastus

ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφι τὸν Βορέην
 γαμβρὸν εἶναι, καὶ ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν
 Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥ καὶ 10
 πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε
 Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν, τιμωρῆσαί σφι καὶ
 διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότε-
 ρον περὶ Ἀθων. Εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρ-
 βάροις ὁρμέουσι ὁ βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω 15
 εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοί σφι λέγουσι βοηθή-
 σαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατ-
 εργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύ-

190 σαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ

Persian
 losses. Good
 fortune of
 Ameinoclea.

πόνῳ νέας, οἱ ἐλαχίστας, λέγουσι δια-
 φθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας,
 ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε
 πλήθος ἄφθονον, ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω, 5
 ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως
 ἡ ναυηγίη ἐγένετο χρηστή, δς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια
 ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο,
 πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων
 εὔρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβά- 10
 λετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὐρήμασι
 μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τούτον

191 ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος. Σιταγω-

Magian rites.
 Cessation of
 the storm.

γῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων
 διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμὸς, ὥστε
 δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
 στρατοῦ, μὴ σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ 5
 Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιε-
 βάλλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχέλμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος

- δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι τῷ
 ἀνέμφ οἱ μάγοι, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ
 10 τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ, ἣ
 ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ^{οὐκ ὀτρεῖται}
 ἔθουον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ
 τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε
 ἅπαντα ἡ ἄκτῃ ἡ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων
 15 Νηρηϊδων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαιτο. ^{μυ}
 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων 192
 τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ
 ἡμέρῃ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ^{Thanksgiving of the Greeks to Poseidon. Return to Artemisium.}
 ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν
 5 ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσει-
 δέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες, ^{πρὸς αὐτὸν}
 τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείλυντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον,
 ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφί ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι
 νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ
 10 Ἄρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος
 ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες.

- Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ 193
 τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς
 νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον. κάμ- ^{The Persian fleet at Aphetae.}
 ψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον
 5 ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι
 δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα
 λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός
 τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων, ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ
 πεμφθέντα, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν
 10 Κολχίδα. ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὕδρευσάμενοι ἐς
 τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν· ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ

οὐνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ
 184 Ξέρξῳ ἐποιεῦντο. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν του-

α γ σ ω

Fifteen Per-
sian ships
captured.
Story of
Sandoces.

τέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν ἐξαναχ-
 θείσαι, καὶ κως κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτε-
 μισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας· ἔδοξάν τε δὴ
 τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ 5

πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρα-
 τήγῃ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώ-
 κης ὁ Θαμασίου, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς

τ ε υ ζ ε ω

Δαρεῖος, ἐπ' αἰτίῃ τοιγῆδε λαβὼν, ἀνεσταύρωσε
 ἔοντα τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων· ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ 10
 χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε. ἀνακρεμασθέντος
 ὦν αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὐρέ οἱ πλέω
 ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν
 βασιληῖον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ γνοὺς,
 ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, 15
 ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγῶν,
 μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆν· τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας
 καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγῶν
 ἔσεσθαι. ὡς γάρ σφεας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ
 Ἑλλήνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἀμαρτάδα, 20

195 ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον. Ἐν τούτῳ

Distinguish-
ed prisoners
taken.

μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος
 Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ ὁ
 Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου,
 ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάδεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δέ 5
 σφῶν τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ
 Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένη καταπλέων ἐπ'
 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλλήνες, ἐξιστορή-
 σαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξῳ

10 στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κοριν-
θίων Ἴσθμόν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικός ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, 196
πάρει τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν, τῶν εἶπον
Σανδῶκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκητο ἐς Ἀφέ-
τας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ

March of
Xerxes to
Trachiniae.

5 Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς, ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ
τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν
ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρώμενος
καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη
εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι
10 ἐλείποντο πολλόν. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ
ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ
στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέθρον, πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ
ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν
ἐστὶ Ἠπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε, εἰ μὴ φλαύ-
ρως. Ἐς Ἄλωνα δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ 197
οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὸ
πᾶν ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριον
λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τοῦ Λαφυστιῦ

Local le-
gends: La-
phytian
Zeus.

5 Διός, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμνηχάνησατο Φρίξῳ
μόρον, σὺν Ἴνοϊ βουλευσας· μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ
θεσπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπο-
γόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε. ὅς ἂν ἡ τοῦ γένεος
τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι
10 τοῦ πρυτανῆτος, αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι· λήϊτον
δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί· ἦν δὲ
ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἔξεις, πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι
μέλλῃ. ὥς τε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τῶν
μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι δέισαντες οἴχοντο

ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος 15
ὀπίσω κατελθόντες, ἣν ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ
πρυτανήϊον, ὡς θύεται τε, ἐξηγέοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς
πυκασθεῖς, καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. ταῦτα
δὲ πᾶσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς
ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων 20
Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ
μελλόντων μιν θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσ-
σωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο· ποιήσας
δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοισι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν
τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, 25
ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πᾶσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε
Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ
τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦτε ἐς τὴν
Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ
ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται.
περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χῶρος πεδινός, τῇ 5
μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στενός. περὶ δὲ τὸν
χῶρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληθεῖ πᾶσαν
τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι.
πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ
Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχεῖος, 10
ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ
τούτου διὰ εἴκοσιν σταδίῳ ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ
οὐνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ
καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου
δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι, ὃς 15

Description
of the district.

καλέεται Μέλας. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλα- 199

νος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει.

ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Trachinian
plain : the
Asopus, etc.
χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασ-

- 5 σαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ
καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ
οὔρεος, τὸ περικληθεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι
διασφὰξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς
διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπω-
10 ρήν τοῦ οὔρεος. Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς 200
οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν
οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. Κατὰ
δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στεννότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξι-
5 τὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος
ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδιά ἐστι ἐς Θερμο-
πύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ
Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη
κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασ-
10 σαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ
Δήμητρός τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται, καὶ
ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτυόσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνος
ἱρὸν. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὲ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο 201
τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ
"Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ Position of
the two
armies.
χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλ-
5 λήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ
περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν
ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις. ἐπεκράτεε δὲ
ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων
μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ

μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπεί- 10
ρου.

- 202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν
The Greek contingents. Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ. Σπαρτιητέων
 τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται, καὶ Τεγεγέτων καὶ
 5 ⁵²⁰⁰ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ
 τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς 5
 λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων·
 ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι, καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιούντος
 διηκόσιοι, καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν
 ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν. ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν,
 Θεσπιδέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. 10

- 203 Πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ
Their hopes of success. Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων
 χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν
 ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν 5
 συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἢ
 θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε
 φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινήτων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτι-
 κὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν·
 οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' 10
 ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσσεσθαι,
 τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ
 μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν
 ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἔοντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν
 ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβόηθηον ἐς τὴν 15
- 204 Τρηχίνα. Τούτοισι ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρα-
Leonidas. τηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θω-
 μαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος

ἡγεόμενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης, ὁ Ἀναξαν-
 5 δρίδew, τοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew, ^{His genealogy.}
 τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος, τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος, τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τοῦ
 Ἀρχέλεω, τοῦ Ἠγησίλεω, τοῦ Δορύσσου, τοῦ
 Λεωβότew, τοῦ Ἐχυστράτου, τοῦ Ἡγίος, τοῦ Εὐ-
 10 ρυσθένεος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου,
 τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὑλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησά-
 μενος τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.
 Διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, 205
 Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο
 τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλητῆς. ἀπο- ^{The Spartan 800. Disaffection of the Theban contingent.}
 5 θανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος
 γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος, ἀλλὰ
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς
 Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλητὴ, καὶ διότι πρότερος
 ἐγεγόνει Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος
 Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος
 10 θυγατέρα. Ὅς τότε ἦι ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξά-
 μενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους
 καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγγανον παῖδες ἐόντες. παραλαβὼν
 δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ²⁰⁰
 λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγειε Λεοντιάδης ὁ
 15 Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν
 ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων παραλα-
 βεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορητο μηδίζειν.
 παρεκάλει ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι, εἴ τε
 συμπέμψουσι, εἴ τε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφα-
 20 νέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρο-
 νέοντες ἔπεμπον. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνί- 206

δην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους
 ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύων-
 ται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς
 πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους. μετὰ 5

δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν, ἔμελλον, ὀρτά-
 σαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ
 τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
 τῶν συμμάχων ἐννένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα
 ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις 10
 τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκὼν δοκέοντες
 κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμο-
 πύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους. οὗτοι
 μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν.

207 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας
 ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρω-
 δέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς·
 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε,
 ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν 5
 φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περι-
 σπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν
 ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις,
 κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν

208 ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. Ταῦτα
 βουλευομένων σφέν ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης
 κατάσκοπον ἱππεία ἰδέσθαι, ὁκόσοι τέ
 εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοῖεν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι
 ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ 5
 ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 τε καὶ Λεωνίδης, ἔων γένος Ἑρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ
 προσέλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό

Reasons for
the delay of
the main
army.

νοω
νενοω

Council of
war.

How the
Greeks pre-
pared for the
battle.

τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς
 10 γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαν-
 τες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι·
 ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ
 ὄπλα ἔκειτο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμ-
 15 ναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενι-
 ζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθούμαζε, καὶ τὸ
 πλήθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως,
 ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γὰρ τις
 ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς. ἀπελθὼν
 20 δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα, τά περ ὁπώπее πάντα.
 'Ακούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, 209
 ὅτι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε
 καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' Astonish-
ment of
Xerxes: ex-
planation of
Demaratus.
 αὐτῷ γελοία γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετ-
 5 ἐπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος
 ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν
 εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ
 ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 'Ο δὲ εἶπε·
 "Ἦκουσας μὲν μευ καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ
 10 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας
 δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν, λέγοντα τά περ ὧρων ἐκβησό-
 μενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην
 ἀσκέειν ἀντὶ σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι.
 ἀκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. Οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται
 15 μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα
 παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γὰρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί.
 ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς
 κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε

καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπο- 20
μενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον. νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασι-
λητὴν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι
προσφέρειαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ
ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ
δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον, τοσοῦτοι ἔοντες, 25
τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ
βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἣν μὴ
ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.

- 210 Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα. Τέσσε-
ρας μὲν δὴ παρεξήκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων
αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσέσθαι. πέμπτῃ δὲ, ὡς
οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο
ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμ- 5
πει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς,
ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. Ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς
Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ'
ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαινον, καίπερ μεγάλως 10
προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίευν παντὶ τεφ, καὶ
οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρω-
ποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή
211 δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιεί-
ποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ
δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν, τοὺς
ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε
Ἑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. 5
Ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμσγον τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὐδὲν
πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ

Advance and
repulse of the
Medes.

Renewed
attack: re-
pulse of the
Immortals.

τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι,
καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλλη-
10 νες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικ-
νύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξέπιστά-
μενοι, καὶ ὁκῶς ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγε-
σκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέωντες φεύγοντας
15 βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν· οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμ-
βανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβά-
ροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει
ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων. ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ
αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. Ἐπεὶ
20 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς
ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως
προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλυνον ὀπίσω. Ἐν ταύτῃσι 212
τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βα-
σιλέα θηύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ
θρόνου, δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε
5 μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ
βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων
εὐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματῖσθαι τε
καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι
συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ
10 κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκασ-
τοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ
οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν, φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. Ὡς
δὲ οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ
προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλυνον.

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως, ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ 213
παρεόντι πρῆγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου, ἀνὴρ

Second day
of conflict:
the Greeks
still success-
ful.

He

Μηλιεύς, ἡλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ
Disclosure of
the mountain
path to
Xerxes. βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι· ἔφρασέ τε
 τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεὸς φέρου- 5
 σαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς
 ταύτη ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ
 φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν [Ἀμφικτυόνων]
 ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκη- 10
 ρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι-
 κύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου.
 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι'
 ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι
 σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων 15
 οὐδὲν ἔσσον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων

214 ἀπέθανε. Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς
Epiates the
traitor. Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω, ἀνὴρ Καρύ-
 στιος, καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς, εἰσὶ
 οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους,
 καὶ περιγηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐ- 5
 δαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή
 σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι
 ἐπεκέρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ
 ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως
 κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύ- 10
 γοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν.
 εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην
 τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμιλη-
 κὼς εἴη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περιγηγησά-
 μενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον 15
 πορφω. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ

- Ἐπιάλτης κάτεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γε-
 νόμενος ἔπεμπε Ἰδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν ἐστρα- Departure of
Hydarnes and the Im-
mortals.
 τήγεε Ἰδάρνης. ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων (αὐτῶν) καὶ
 ὧράφας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Τὴν δὲ ἀτρα-
 πὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες,
 ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φω-
 κέας τότε, ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν (Ἰσθμίου) ὁρίαν
 ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου. ἔκ τε τόσου
 10 δὴ κατεδέδεκτο εἶυσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεύσι.
 Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη. ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ 216
 τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς δια-
 σφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα δὲ τῷ οὐρεῖ The path
named
Anopaea.
 τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὸντὸ κεῖται, Ἀνό-
 5 παια. τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ
 οὐρεος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρῶτην
 εἶυσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ
 κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ
 Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατόν ἐστι.
 Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν 217
 οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπο- March of
Hydarnes.
 ρεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν
 ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ
 5 Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ’
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος
 ἐφύλασσαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φω-
 κέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην
 χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 10 κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφύλασσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ
 διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐβελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδε-
 ξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσαν. Ἐμαθον δὲ σφρα

οἱ Φωκέες ὥδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ
 ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸ οὖρος πᾶν ἐδν
 δρυῶν ἐπὶ πλεον· ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμῖη,
 ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἰκὸς 5
 ἦν, φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε
 ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ αὐ-
 τήκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας
 ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θωύματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπό-
 μνοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν, ἐνεκὺ 10
 ρησαν στρατῷ. Ἐνθαῦτα Ἑδάρνης καταρρωδή-
 σας, μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν
 Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδὰπὸς εἶη ὁ στρατός· πυθόμενος
 δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην.
 οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξέυμασι πολ- 15
 λοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ
 οὖρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας
 ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεό-
 μνοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
 Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ἑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν 20
 οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος
 κατὰ τάχος.

219 Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων
 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστής, ἐσιδὼν
 ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι
 ἅμα ἡοὶ σφί θάνατον· ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι
 ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον· 5
 οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμερο-
 σκόποι, καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη δια-
 φαινούσης ἡμέρης· ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἑλ-
 ληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι. οἱ μὲν

Retreat of
the Phocian
guards.

Second Coun-
cil of war.
Retreat of
the allies.

10 γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον.
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο
καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτρά-
ποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ
παρασκευάδατο. Λέγεται δὲ, ὡς αὐτός σφεας 220

ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλυνται, Self-devotion
of Leonidas;
his faith in
an oracle.
ἢ δὲ κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων
τοῖσι παρεούσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκ-

5 λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν.
Ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι,
Λεωνίδην, ἐπεὶ τε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἐόντας
ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν,
κελεῦσαί σφεας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι
10 οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα
ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλεί- λει
φето. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι
Σπαρτιήτῃσι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τού-
του αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα
15 ^{ἀναστατον} ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢ τὸν
βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφί ἐν
ἔπεισι ἐξαμέτροισι ἔχοντα χρᾶ, λέγοντα ὧδε·

Ἵμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροι, ερα
ἢ μέγα ἄστυ ἔρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι
20 πύθεται· ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης τι
πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.
Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
ἀντιβίην. Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ τ' φημι
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται. διὰ τὸ
25 ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμε-
νον κλέος καταθέσθαι μῦνον Σπαρτιητέων, ὅπο-

πέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἷχθῃσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

221 Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου

The Seer
Megistias
supports
him.

πéρι γέγονε. οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν, ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστήν τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτον 5

εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπό-

ληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ

222 μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ

Fidelity of
the The-
bans; deten-
tion of the
Thebans.

ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἷχοντό τε ἀπιώντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ

Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούντοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν 5

ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης, ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος·

Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλά-

ξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρα- 10
τήγῃ δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

223 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ⁼ [~]

Advance of
Xerxes and
of Leonidas.
Battle in the
plain.

ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς

κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσδοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω

οὕτω. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὖρεος ἡ κατά- 5

βασίς συντομωτέρῃ τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλὸν, ἥπερ ἡ περίδοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις.

Οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν,

καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 10 ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ'
 ἀρχὰς ἐπεξῆσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ ἔρμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ
 τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα
 ἐμάχοντο, τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν
 15 ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὀπισθε
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων, ἔχοντες μαστιγας,
 ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύν-
 οντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
 θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνες
 20 κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος
 οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόν-
 των τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον
 μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρῆμαί τε
 καὶ ἀτέοντες. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλεοσι αὐτῶν
 24 τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ
 δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας.
 καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ
 5 πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ'
 αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ, ὡς ἀνένομαι
 δρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων, ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ
 δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ
 10 καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες,
 Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω
 θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ
 Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος ἦν ἀδελφεός,
 Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς, ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς

Fall of Leo-
 nidas, and
 of Persian
 princes.

τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ 15
ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μόνου οἱ εἰσότης ταύτης τέκνου.

225 Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι

The final
struggle:
destruction
of the Greeks.

μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω,

Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὄθισμός

ἐγένετο πολλὸς, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ

Ἕλληες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναν- 5

τίους τετράκισ. Τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκει, μέχρι οὐ οἱ

σὺν Ἐπιάτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν

ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ

νεῖκος. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον 10

ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες

ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλην

Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου

νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ

σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι 15

αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ

στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ

μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ

τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντο-

θεν περισταδόν.

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδίων τοιούτων γενο-

μένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέ-

Courage of
Dioneces and
other heroes.

σθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φα-

σὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος, πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας

τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχι- 5

νίων, ὡς, ἔπειτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιδέωσι τὰ τοξεύ-

ματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν οἰστῶν

ἀποκρίπτουσι· τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι

τὸν δὲ, οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις, εἶπαι, ἐν ἀλογίᾳ

καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἐκείνοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου
ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου

10 ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι
 ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ, ἀποκρυπ-
 τόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. Ταῦτα μὲν
 καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν
 Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. Μετὰ δὲ 227
 τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο
 ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου
 παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα, τῷ
 οὖνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρμάτιδεω. Θαφθεῖσι 228
 δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, τῇπερ ἔπεσον, καὶ
 τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεω-
 νίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται
 5 γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τρεῖς ἑκατομῖται ἐμάχοντο
 ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ
 Σπαρτιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

10 ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
 κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
 Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι·

15 μάντις, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπέρχομένᾳς σάφα εἰδὼς,
 οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

Ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ
 μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσι σφεας οἱ
 ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω

Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ 20
ἐπιγράφας.

229 Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται, Εὐρυ-
τόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι
ἀμφοτέροισι, κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι,
ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς μεμε-
τιμένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνί- 5
δεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες
ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ, εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλονται νοστήσαι,
ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, παρεὸν σφι τούτων
τὰ ἕτερα ποίειν, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν, ἀλλὰ
γνωμὴ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τῶν 10
Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ
ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς
μαχομένους· ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγα-
γόντα, οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν
ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λειποψυχέ- 15
οντα λειφθῆναι. Εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μόνον Ἀριστό-
δημον ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι,
δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιότηας μῆνιν οὐδε-
μίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολο- 20
μένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιός, πρὸς
οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι
230 ἔχειν μνηῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. Οἱ μὲν νυν
οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς
Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιγόνδε· οἱ
δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὼν
αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ 5
ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγε-

Story of
Aristodemus
and Eurytus.

Another
account.

- νέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ, ἀπικόμενον ἐς
 τὴν μάχην, ἀποθανεῖν. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακε- 231
 δαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε
 καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· Diagrace of
Aristode-
mus.
 οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὔδεις ἔναυε Σπαρτητέων
 5 οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστό- τρέ
 δημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι
 μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην.
 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἀγ- 232
 γελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τού- A second
survivor: his
end.
 των περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Παντί-
 την· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο,
 1 ἀπάγξασθαι. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης 233
 ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων εὐντες ἐμάχοντο, ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχό- Surrender of
the Thebans;
their fate.
 μενοι, πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς
 5 δὲ εἶδον κατ'υπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα
 τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλ-
 10 λήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες
 τούτων χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσσον τῶν ἡστ
 βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων,
 15 ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι
 ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς
 Θερμοπύλας ἀπικόλατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώ-
 ματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. ὥστε ταῦτα λέ-
 γοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς
 15 τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας. Οὐ μέντοι τὰ γε
 πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ
 βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
 προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος

Ξέρξω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα, ἀρξάμενοι
ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα 20
Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλα-
ταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρα-
κοσίων, καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

- 234 Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω
ἠγωνίσαντο. Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημά-
ρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημά-
ρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ
τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα 5
ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ
λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὅκοσοι τοιοῦτοι
τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. Ὁ δ' εἶπε· Ὡ
βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
πολλόν, καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, 10
εἰδήσεις. Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις
ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη· οὗτοι πάντες
εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε
μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι,
ἀγαθοὶ δέ. Εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρητε, 15
τέφ' τρόπον ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπι-
κρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς
διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασιλεὺς γενό-
235 μενος. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· Ὡ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ
σύμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν μέ
σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς
ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας
ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν· ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος 5
ἐπικειμένη, τῇ οὖνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων,
ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον

Demaratus
vindicated:
he gives
further infor-
mation.

His advice
to Xerxes.

ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης κατα-κατα¹
 δεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν
 10 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι, οἷόν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι,
 οὐ τι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως αἰε²
 φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς
 νήσου ὀρμεόμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.
 παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκῆτου, οὐδὲν
 15 δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι, (μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλι-³
 σκόμενης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθῶσι ταύτῃ.) κατα-⁴
 δουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἀσθενὲς ἤδη
 τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται. Ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
 ποιῆς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς ἡρω⁵
 20 Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ⁶
 σοὶ, μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων
 προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαί τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι, ἀμα-
 χητὶ δ' ὅς τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρή-
 σουσι. Λέγει μετὰ τούτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός 236
 τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ
 στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ
 δείσας, μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιεῖν ταῦτα· Ὡ⁷
 5 βασιλεῦ, ὀρέω σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους, ὃς
 φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι, ἢ καὶ προδιδόι πρήγ-
 ματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοις
 χρεώμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες χαίρῳσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν
 φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ
 10 τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχῃσι, τῶν νέες νεναυηγῆκασι
 τετρακόσiai, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκο-
 σίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιό-
 μαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι. ἀλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ

ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχειρίστὸς τε αὐτοῖσι
 γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται· καὶ 15
 πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ
 ναυτικῷ, ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος. εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις,
 οὔτε σὺ ἔσσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος, οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί.
 Τὰ σεωυτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενος εὖ, γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν
 ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε 20
 στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τε
 πλήθος εἰσι· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν
 πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως.
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἣν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην,
 οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ παρεὸν τρῶμα ἀνιεύνται. Ἀμείβεται
 Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· Ἀχαιομενες, εὖ τέ μοι
 δοκέεις λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δη-
 μάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται
 εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἔσσωται ὑπὸ 5
 σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι, ὅπως οὐκ
 εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομέ-
 νοις πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ
 ἔοντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι
 φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ σιγῇ· οὐδ' ἂν, συμ- 10
 βουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ, πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα
 οἱ δοκούντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς
 ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι. ξείνος δὲ
 ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντι ἔστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων,
 συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. 15
 οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης πέρι τῆς ἐς Δημάρτηον,
 ἔοντος ἐμοί ξείνου, ἔχασθαι τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κε-
 238 λεύω. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήιε διὰ τῶν
 νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε

Xerxes re-
 flects the
 counsel of
 Demaratus,
 but defends
 his character.
 237
 238

ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀπο-
ταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσαι.

5 δὴλά μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκ-
μηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἦκιστα

Insults to
the body of
Leonidas.

γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα
ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε
ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν, μά- *insult*

10 λιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι,
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.

Ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκῆϊσε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον 239

ἐξέλιπε. Ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι

βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, *Previous
warning from
Demaratus
to Sparta.*
πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον

5 τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφί *Ingenuity of
Gorgo.*
ἐχρήσθη, τὰ ὀλίγη πρότερον εἶπον. ἐπύθοντο δὲ
τρόφῳ θουμασίῳ. Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος,
φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, καὶ τὸ οἶκός
ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι.

10 πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε,
εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. Ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ Ξέρξῃ ἔδοξε
στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι
ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακε-
δαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε

15 σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν, μὴ λαμπρθεῖν· ὁ *λαμπρθεῖν*
δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν,
τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ *ξύλῳ*
τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην· ποιή-
σας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ *ἐπὶ τὰ*
20 γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον *φερόμενον* κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν

*He keeps fr. concealed
from the enemy by
sealing it with wax*

πρήγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ, Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, 25 τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὖρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

unpublished

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

B	stands for	Blakealey
R	"	Rawlinson
Gdw.	"	Goodwin (Moods and Tenses).

The numbers in brackets refer to the lines in the Chapters.

The main story of Herodotus is resumed from vi. 119, the 1 return of Datis and Artaphernes to Asia, after their defeat at Marathon. See Introduction.

4. κεχαραγμένον. Properly, 'roughened', 'seared', e.g. like a club with projecting knobs, κεχαραγμένον ὄξοις, Theocr. xvii. 31, or a plain which κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται, Aesch. Pers. 683, or the giant under Etna, whose ἅπαν νῶτον στρωμνὰ χαράσσοισα κεντεῖ, Pind. P. i. 55. Here, in an emotional sense, 'exasperated', cf. Eur. Med. 156, κενῶ τόδε μὴ χαράσσου. In later Greek, to engrave, sketch, stamp (of money), whence our *character*.

5. τήν, 'their'.

ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν. Described in v. 97—102. The Ionians, Greek colonists of the western coast lands of Asia Minor, in fear of a Persian attack, had in 499 B.C. asked the aid of Sparta and of Athens. Sparta refused, v. 51, but Athens sent 20 ships, and, in the weighty words of the historian, αὐται αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο "Ἕλλησι τε καὶ βαρβάροις.

6. πολλῶν τε...ἐποίησε, 'expressed far greater indignation'. δεινὰ ποιέειν, to *express*, must be distinguished from δεινὰ ποιέσθαι, to *feel* indignation. For the former, which is by far the less frequent expression, cf. ii. 121, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη, δεινὰ ποιέειν. These two passages alone would not prove the meaning to be *expression* or *outward manifestation*, which is, however, clearly seen in iii. 14, τῶν ἄλλων κλαίωντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τωὐτὸ ἐποίησε (sc. καὶ πρότερον), the words being explained by a previous sentence: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀνεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον, ὁ δὲ ἔκλυε ἐς τὴν γῆν. Similarly, in

v. 41, where *ὀχλέω* seems to be used with almost the same meaning, *οἱ οὐκ ἰσχυροὶ πυνθόμενοι ὤχληον*· *δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, οἱ ἔφοροι ἐφύλαξαν*. Here it is clear that the 'relations' made their indignation manifest and effective. Cf. also Thucyd. v. 42, of demonstrations raised at unwelcome news in a speech.

The middle constr. is very common, being constantly used of the feeling, which prompts some action: e. g. i. 127, *Πέρσαι... ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάσαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι*. Here it is evident that the feeling previously existed, without manifestation. Also ii. 161, *ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι ἀπέστησαν*. iv. 33, *ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιουμένους οὕτω δὴ ἐπισκῆπτειν*. For other instances, cf. i. 13, ii. 133, iii. 155, v. 33, vii. 35, viii. 15, 93.

With this latter expression cf. the common phrase, *ἐν οὐδένι, ἐν ὀλιγοῖσι, ἐν ὁμοίῳ* (ch. 138), *περὶ πολλοῦ, ποιέσθαι* etc. *ἔρμητο*, 'was eager'; cf. ch. 22 n.

8. *ἐπηγγέλλετο*. 'He began issuing orders.' *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι* means broadly to tender proposals or overtures of any sort, esp. by proclamation, as here; cf. viii. 30, where the proposal includes both an offer and a demand. Hence specially (a) to *proffer*, e.g. *χρήματα* ch. 27; to *profess*, as in Pl. Gor. 447 c, *τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἐπαγγέλλεται τε καὶ διδάσκει*; and so of spontaneous action, ch. 150. (b) To propose on one's own behalf (chiefly in Hdt.), *issue orders*, as here. Cf. iv. 200, *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους*.

πόλις. Ionic acc. pl. See App. H. v. π' 4 & 15

9. *ἐτοιμάζειν*, after *ἐπηγγέλλετο*.

ἐκάστοισι, 'to the several races'. Notice the pl.

10. *νέας*. The Ionic acc. pl. App. H. v. *νέας* ships of war, *πλοῖα* transports.

12. *Ἀσίῃ*. In the wide sense, i.e. the continent as known to Hdt., bounded, roughly speaking, by the Indus on the E. and the Caspian on the N., iv. 40. Darius was the 'discoverer' of the greater part of Asia, iv. 44. His sailors sailed down the Indus, and returned by sea to the Gulf of Suez. The name Asia was still used by the Greeks to designate specially the country round Ephesus, even after it had acquired its larger sense.

ἰδονέτερο. Properly applied to a *rocking* motion, hence *δονεῖν γάλα* of the Scythian butter-makers, iv. 2. Cf. *δόναξ*, a reed 'shaken by the wind' (L. and S.). A favourite word with Pindar, who uses it once only in a literal sense (*δονεῖν ἄκοντα*, P. i. 85), and much more frequently of the passions, or of the throbbing pulses of song, *λυρῶν βοαὶ δονέονται* P. x. 60. Thucyd.'s *Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν*, ii. 8, is a little like the present passage in its application of a physical term to the feelings of a nation.

13. *ὥς*, marks the idea of purpose. Not 'as if'.

14. *τετάρτῳ ἔτει*, i.e. 486 B.C. Cyrus, the father of Cambyses, had meditated an attack on Egypt, i. 153, which had allied itself with Croesus, king of Lydia, i. 77. Revenge for this alliance, or possibly the conquering spirit developed by Cyrus' successes, had been the motive of Cambyses' invasion, though Hdt., iii. 1, gives a more personal one. Cyrus died in 525, Cambyses in 521, succeeded by Darius.

1. *σπυλλομένου*. Schweighäuser rightly points out that *2 στέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ* is *ad proficiscendum sese comparare*, *σταλῆναι ἐπὶ, proficisci*. Cf. vii. 239, iii. 53, with iv. 159, v. 126.

5. *ἀποδέξαντα*. Ionic for *ἀποδείξαντα*. See App. B. Cf. ch. 154. The aorist has its full force of a past tense, 'he must first appoint and then', cf. 2 (8) *βασιλεύσαντι*, 'after his accession'. For the use of *ὅττω* in phrases of this kind, cf. ch. 119.

τὸν Περσέων νόμον. The king nominated his successor from among all his sons; the eldest did not necessarily succeed. Thus when Darius II. died, in 405, Cyrus, although a younger son, had strong hopes of the crown.

9. *Ἀτόσσης*. Atossa, the sister and consort of Cambyses, and afterwards wife of the Median usurper Smerdis, was married by Darius on his accession, iii. 88.

11. *ἐπιγενομένων*. Cf. *τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐπίνοια, ἀνάγκη ὥσπερ τέχνης τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα* (latest improvements) *κρατεῖν*, Thucyd. i. 71.

13. *γόνου*. More usually of a single child.

14. *νομιζόμενα*. Neuter pl. in place of more usual neut. sing. The idiom occurs with *οὐκ ὀλέ τε* (ch. 16), *δῆλα* (ch. 238), *ἀδύνατα*, i. 91, etc. *νομίζειν* to regard as a *νόμος*,

to practise; foll. by (1) an infin., i. 131, νομίζουσι Διὶ θυσίας ἔρδειν. (2) An acc., ii. 64, τῷ Ἀρεῖ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν νενομικέναι. (3) rarely with dat., iv. 117, φωνῇ νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 38, ἀγῶσι κ. θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζοντες.

17. ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἑλευθερίην. By revolting from and conquering the Medes. Hdt. tells the story at length in i. 123 seq.

- 3 8. τοῦτοι. Cf. ii. 20, ὁμοίως πάσχειν κ. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεδῳ. iv. 119, τούτῳ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν.

Δημόφροτος. He had been deprived of the kingship on the ground of illegitimacy, vi. 61—66. After this he had filled the office of a simple magistrate at Sparta, but had fled to Persia in consequence of the insults of his successor.

5. ἐπιβαλόν. Used regularly of a fine or punishment, cf. ἐπιβολή, penalty. *Επιβολή*

7. ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει. Cf. viii. 94, τούτους τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει, and conversely, ix. 84, ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσόφανος. *as the report goes of him.*

14. οἱ μὲν. Not closely with προγεγονότες, which is predicative, but in contrast to ὁ δέ. 'If some have been born before, whereas another—'

16. ὀψίγονος. Not late born, born in old age (with reference to the father), but simply later born, younger, in opposition to προγεγονότες, Aesch. Supp. 361, (the Danaïdes speaking to the king) σὺ δὲ παρ' ὀψιγόνου μάθε γεραίφρων.

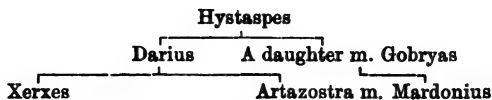
21. τὸ πᾶν κράτος. So Parysatis had schemed, but vainly, for the appointment of her son Cyrus to the kingdom, Xen. An. i. 1.

- 4 3. παρασκευαζόμενον. A strong present; 'in the midst of his preparations'.

5. τὰ πάντα, 'in all'. Distinguish from the use in iii. 74, ὑπισχνούμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν (10,000 of every kind); though with this meaning the article is generally omitted before πάντα. Cf. i. 50, iv. 88, ix. 81.

9. ἀνεχώρησε, cf. ch. 205, also i. 109.

- 5 5. Μαρδόνιος had been deprived of his command by Darius, after the unsuccessful expedition against Athens and Eretria, vi. 94. See Introduction.



7. **ἐχέτο**. **ἐχομαι** with the gen. is 'to cling to', 'to take of', the gen. being partitive. It is almost always found in a metaphorical sense in Hdt., being used (1) with **ἔργου** or **λόγου** in an inceptive sense (to set to work, to take up an argument or line of defence, etc.), cf. II. 121, **παῖδας...ἔργου ἐχέσθαι**. Ch. 6, **τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι**. (2) in a geographical sense, 'to be close to', 'border on', cf. IV. 178, **Λωτοφάγων ἔχονται Μάχλυνες**. So of proximity in line of battle, IX. 31, **Περσέων ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους**. (3) 'to appertain to', 'be of the nature of', cf. V. 49, **τοῖσι οὐτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὐτε ἀργύρου**.

9. **μη οὐ**. For **μη οὐ** after a preceding negative, which is the regular use after verbs or ideas which imply preventing and the like, cf. VIII. 98, **οὐ νῦν ἐέργει μη οὐ κατανύσαι**. Ib. 100, **οὐδεμὴ ἐκδυσσι μη οὐ δόντας**. With the present passage cf. I. 187, **Δαρείω δεινὸν ἐδόκεε...μη οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά** (where the neg. is implied in **δεινόν**), see GdW. § 95. 2.

13. **λόγος σε ἔχῃ**, cf. Ch. 3. Pind. Ol. VII. 17, **δν φάμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί**, resembles this very closely.

τις φυλάσσηται. Cf. Ch. 48 note.

15. **ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός**. For this bold personification of **λόγος**, cf. Ch. 239, **τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται**. Also Ch. 173, 183.

16. **παρενθήκην**. Cf. Ch. 171; also I. 186, **τοιγὴνδε ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποίησατο** (ἡ Νιτωκρίς), of an addition made to the works at Babylon. For **ποιέσκειτο** cf. Ch. 41 (2) n.

18. **ἀρετῇ**, refers of course to excellence of soil, more usually **γῆς ἀρετῇ**, but cf. IV. 198, **δοκέει δὲ οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἡ Λιβύη σπουδαία**.

2. **νεωτέρων**, 'newer', i.e. revolutionary, violent. So **new-6** **περίγειν**, **νεωτερισμός**, and cf. VIII. 21.

4. **ὑπαρχος**. The Greek equivalent for satrap, a word which Hdt. never uses, though he mentions the term **σατραπήτης** I. 192.

κατεργάσατο, 'won over'. Cf. IX. 108, **οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι (ἡ γυνή)**.

5. *συνλαβε*, 'helped'. Generally middle in this sense, but cf. vi. 125.

7. *τοῦτο μὲν*, 'in the first place', answered by *τοῦτο δέ* below, for which *δέ*, *δέ* *αὖ*, *δέ* *δὴ*, *μετὰ δέ*, *ἔπειτα δέ*, *ἀλλὰ*, *εἴτα*, *τοῦτ'* *ἄλλο*, *τοῦτ'* *αὖθις*, are sometimes found (L. & S.).

10. *Ἀλευάδαι*. The towns of Thessaly were under the government of separate and independent oligarchies, *δυναστεῖαι* (Thucyd. iv. 78). These oligarchies were hereditary and in the hands of powerful families, the most celebrated of which were the Aleuadae of Larissa, who at this time were endeavouring to extend their authority over the whole of Thessaly. Traces of an opposition party appear in the mission to the assembled Greeks on the Isthmus (ch. 172). The Aleuadae are always called kings of Thessaly, probably as descendants of the mythical king Aleuas (cf. ch. 130, Pind. P. x. 6). The head of the family at this time, Thorax, whom Pindar compliments, was present with Mardonius before the battle of Plataea (ix. 105), and was no doubt rewarded by a recognition of his title by the Persians. The Spartans in 470 conducted a retaliatory expedition against Thessaly, but Leotychides, the commander, was bribed to retreat, vi. 72.

11. *Πεισιστρατιδῶν*. The Pisistratidae governed Athens 560—510 B.C. On their expulsion, Hippias retired to Sigeum in the Troad (v. 65). The Spartans offered to restore him, and summoned him to meet a congress of the allies at Sparta. Owing to the strong opposition of the Corinthians the plan had fallen through (v. 91—93), and Hippias again retired to Asia, where he had been doing his best to set Persia against Athens, having taken a prominent part in the Marathonian expedition.

14. *προσωρέγοντό* *οἱ*, 'tempted him', i.e. held out to him (as a bait); for the middle cf. Solon iv. (14) 2, *τιμῆς οὐτ' ἀφελὼν οὐτ' ἐπορεζάμενος*. Also vii. 161, *ταῦτα προετίθετο*, 'he held out', i.e. 'proposed'.

16. *διαθέτην*. Various explained as (1) one who arranges, sets in order, (2) one who makes a trade of, on the analogy of *διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον*, to dispose of cargo. The former seems

best; the man's occupation then gave the chance for his mal-practices.

These oracle-mongers must have been a great feature in Greek life. Thucyd. mentions their activity at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (ii. 8); Nicias was particularly addicted to them, and from vii. 50 it looks as if *οἱ μάντεις* formed a regular part, if not of an Athenian expedition, at least of Nicias' retinue. Cf. the position of Calchas as *στρατόμαντις*, Aesch. Ag. 122. So too a *χρησμόλογος* is introduced in the *Birds*, and Lampon and Diopithes are there mentioned as authors of oracles.

Μουσαίου. Little is known of him. "All that can be said with certainty is that poems believed to be ancient were current under his name, as early as B.C. 520" (Rawlinson).

19. *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* need not mean 'caught in the act of', its usual sense, but merely states that Lasus proved the fact to demonstration. Something similar is Xen. Symp. iii. 13, *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἰλημμαι πλουσιώτατος ὢν*.

Λάσου. Lasus of Hermione, the reputed teacher of Pindar, had developed the dithyramb, or rude chant sung at the festivals of Dionysus in the Peloponnese and the Isthmus, into the chorus or choral ode, which perhaps was accompanied by a certain amount of narrative recitation, thus laying the foundation of the drama. This improved dithyramb he introduced to the court of the Pisistratidae at Athens, where Anacreon and Simonides were his rivals for favour, and it was no doubt during his stay there that he detected Onomacritus.

20. *ἐμποιέων*. L. and S. quote from Dion. Hal. iv. 62, *χρησμοὶ ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις*.

21. *αἱ ἐπὶ Δήμνου νῆσοι*. These islands were volcanic and of recent origin, as their name (*Νεαὶ νῆσοι*) shows. Some of them had disappeared in the time of Pausanias, 2nd cent. A.D. (viii. 33). One of the peaks of Lemnos, Mosychlus, was an active volcano (Hesych. s.v.).

ἀφανίζομαι, represents in indirect speech the 'prophetic present' of the oracle. The Prophet sees and lives in the future, during his prophetic trance. Cf. ch. 141, *τείχος...ἄδοι Ζεύς*. Ch. 220, *μέγα ἄστυ πέρθεται*.

23. *χρῶμενος*. From *χρῆσθαι φίλῳ*, to treat as a friend; *χρῆσθαι* alone has the same meaning, most commonly in Xen., where *οἱ χρώμενοι* means friends.

24. *ὅπως ἀπείκουτο*. Optative of 'indefinite frequency', expressing repetition after a historic tense, as the subj. with a compound of *ἄν* (*ὅταν* etc.) does, after a primary: tr. 'whenever'.

26. *τῶν χρησμῶν*. Partitive gen. (some of).

ἐνίοι. Epic for *ἐνείη*. App. viii.

27. *σφάλμα*. Acc. after *φέρων*.

τῶν μὲν, 'of those'. The 'article' is still used by Hdt.

(1) as a demonstrative, (2) as a relative, in the old Homeric sense. Cf. II. i. 125, *ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλῶν ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται*, a passage which gives both usages. In Thucyd. and Pl. the relational sense has quite gone, and the demonstrative is confined to a few special usages, e.g. *ὁ μὲν...ὁ δέ, τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ* (partly...partly), *τὰ καὶ τὰ* (such and such), *καὶ ὅς* (and he), with acc. *καὶ τὸν* in orat. obl. Cf. ch. 137, *ἐν τοῖσι*.

28. *ὁ δέ*. This use of *δέ*, accompanying a repeated nom. instead of the word to which it properly belongs, *τὰ εὐτυχέστατα*, is a common idiom in Hdt.; cf. ch. 10, 13, 163 etc.

31. *προσέφερετο*, sc. *βασιλεῖ*, *sese offerebat*, lit. 'kept bringing himself forward', i.e. 'beset him', *beset*.

7 1. *ἀνεγνώσθη*. This verb is used in two senses in Hdt. (1) to recognise, II. 91, (2) to persuade, VII. 10, 144, 236, VIII. 57, 58, 100. This latter meaning is almost peculiar to Hdt., who never uses the word in the sense of 'to read', i.e. to recognise words, which is found first in Pind.: he uses *ἐπιλέγεσθαι* instead.

7. *Ἀχαιμένει*. Achaemenes was the name of the mythical founder of the Persian dynasty.

8. *ἐπιτροπεύοντα*. This word and its cognates (*ἐπιτροπος*, *ἐπιτροπαῖος*) are used to denote a degree of authority less absolute than that of a satrap over his province. They are applied to nations not the subjects but the dependents of Persia, of VII. 62, VIII. 127, III. 27; often of an administrator taking over the regular government for a while, V. 30 (of Miletus), VII. 170 (of Rhegium).

12. καὶ αὐτοῖσι, κ.τ.λ. Not only does the divine guidance direct the Persians towards fresh conquests, but their own numerous successes give further encouragement. Such seems the sense, though it is difficult to give much force to αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, the emphasis on which is probably due to the Greek love of contrast.

13. συμφέρεται, impers. Cf. v. 114, ἐμαντεύθη σφι—ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. VIII. 86, ἐμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι. Similarly συμφέρειν, I. 74, VI. 117.

16. οὐκ ἂν τις, i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ. It seems unnecessary, with Ed. Tournier (*Révue de Philologie* U.S. 1, 270), to strike out οὐκ. He compares II. xx. 250, εἰδοσί γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις. Aesch. P. V. 441, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ σιγῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰδυῖαισιν ἂν | λέγοιμι. But see Hdt. III. 103, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὐ συγγράφω.

18. λείψομαι. Hdt. uses the pass. of λείπω (and the fut. mid. in pass. sense) in two idiomatic ways, (1) to be left behind by, to be inferior to, (2) to be absent from, not to be present at. For (1) cf. ch. 86, καμήλους οὐ λειπομένας ἱππων. Ch. 48, τὸ ναυτικὸν φαίνεται λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων. For (2) cf. ch. 168, οὐδεμῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. VIII. 113, οὗτος οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος.

23. τιμωρίην κ. τίσιν. Hdt. is fond of repetition for the sake of emphasis or clearness. Cf. ch. 40, ἀναμῖξ οὐ διακεκριμένοι. Ib. 130, εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχύνωτον, and 222, δέκοντες κ. οὐ βουλόμενοι. VIII. 70, δέος τε κ. ἄρρωδιη.

25. μέλλω. Notice the absence of connecting particle, (asyndeton): this is often the case with quotations, descriptions, or where the author goes on to explain some word just used (epexegetis), cf. chs. 128, 133, 142, 144, though in many cases of this sort γάρ is used, cf. ch. 46.

27. τιμωρήσομαι. τιμωρεῖν (active) means to help (in life or in death), to avenge, with dat.; cf. ch. 169, τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι. VIII. 144, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν. τιμωρεῖσθαι (mid.) means to help oneself, i.e. to avenge oneself on, punish, with acc. of person, and either gen. or acc. of thing for which the punishment is inflicted. Cf. III. 145, σφέας ἐγώ

τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπείχου: Eur. Alc. 733, εἰ μὴ σ' ἀδελφῆς αἷμα τιμωρήσεται. *Time avenge το*

29. ἰθύντα. One of the many Homeric terms which Hdt. has borrowed. ἰθύω is one of those words which are used in different senses in the Iliad and Odyssey. In the Iliad it always means to rush, of the warrior or the army, over the plain, cf. vi. 2, xii. 443: in Hdt. it is only once used in this sense, iv. 122, πρὸς τὴν μίην τῶν μοιρέων ἰθυσαν. In the Odyssey the meaning is the same as here, always metaphorical, foll. by an infin.; see xi. 591, xxii. 408.

33. πρὶν ἢ Ὡς. The omission of ἄν before the subjunctive (regular in Homer to mark the clause as general and indefinite, or frequentative, Monro §§ 283, 296) is common in Hdt. With πρὶν it is omitted oftener than not; cf. ch. 54, viii. 108. In other respects, Hdt.'s use of πρὶν, πρὶν ἢ, πρότερον or πρότερα ἢ, is regular:

(1) With affirmative chief sentence. { πρὶν with Infinitive. Cf. v. 65, ὅσα ἔρξαν πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην ἀποστήναι.

(2) With negative, or virtually negative chief sentence, i.e. where πρὶν means *until*.

1. Of definite time: πρὶν with Indicative, vi. 79, οὐκ ὥρων πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις κατείδε.

2. Of indefinite time: πρὶν with Subjunctive, with or without ἄν, the Opt. being never found, vii. 54, 197; iv. 196, οὔτε τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπτεσθαι πρὶν ἄν σφι ἀπισωθῇ....

An irregularity in i. 140 is 'due to the influence of the Oratio Obliqua.

τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ γε. Somewhat similar is viii. 74, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο· οἱ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.

39. ὅτε... ἐστρατήγεον. The invasion which ended in Marathon B.C. 490. τὰ demonstrative.

41. μέντοι. Each particle would seem to have its separate force, μέν being answered by δέ (after ἀγαθά).

ἀνάρτηται. ἀρτῶν (Ion. ἀρτέω) is literally 'to hang', cf. ἀρτῶν, a noose, ἀρτημα, ear-ring; in Hdt. always metaphorical, 'to be dependent on' (ἐκ). Cf. III. 19, πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἡρτητο ὁ ναυτικός στρατός. VI. 109, πάντα ἐκ σέο ἡρτηται. In the pass. the word has the meaning of being prepared (on the strain), VIII. 97; so 'to prepare', with acc. ch. 143. ἀναρτάομαι means to prepare one's mind, determine, cf. VI. 88, μαθὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνηρτημένους ἐρδεῖν. Cf. παραρτέσθαι chs. 20 and 142.

42. ἐν αὐτοῖσι. Neuter, the undertaking, cf. I. 9, and infra chs. 46 and 50.

59. ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. This very strange expression, which occurs also in I. 35, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, would seem to be formed through a confusion of the phrases ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, sc. χώρα, and ἐν ἡμῶν.

61. τίθημι ἐς μέσον. VI. 129, τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. IV. 97, γνώμην τὴν ἀρίστην εὗρισκον ἐς μέσον φέρω.

9 4. ἐπίκειο. In ch. 35 the verb is used with a different application, but with the same idea of coming down upon, 'touching upon'.

6. καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν. So III. 37, 38, etc. The gen., which is alw. used in Att., is found V. 68; cf. ch. 191 n.

7. Σάκας. Probably referring to the Scythian expedition of Darius (IV. 1).

8. Ἰνδοῦς, i.e. the Punjáb, conquered by Darius, IV. 44.

Αἰθίοπας, i.e. those bordering on Egypt, III. 97, who were reduced by Cambyzes; his expedition against the Ethiopians of Central Africa (the Soudan) was an utter failure, III. 25.

Ἀσσυρίους. Referring to Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia, I. 178.

12. εἰ...οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα. Cf. ch. 46, note on εἰ οὐ (4).

13. συστροφήν. Cf. VI. 6, συστραφέντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐν ποίησαντες στρατόπεδον. Thucyd. II. 4, ὡς ἐγνώσαν ἡπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

14. ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν...ἐπιστάμεθα δέ. Hdt. and Soph. are both fond of repeating a word with μὲν...δέ, without implying a contrast, or indeed anything more than τε...καί; cf. O. T. 219, ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου...ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος. Ib. 4, 25. Hdt. II. 141, κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ρόζα. III. 126 etc.

μάχη, 'mode of fight'. Cf. ch. 85.

15. *ἔχονεν καταστρεφόμενοι*. A further point of connexion between the historian and the poet, the construction being specially common in these two authors. Cf. Soph. Ant. 22, *τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει*. Id. 77. Hdt. i. 27, *τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις*. II. 52, *κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα εἶχον*.

17. *Ἴωνες*. The inhabitants of the important towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from Miletus (S.) to Phocaea (N.). Cf. ch. 94 note.

Αἰολῆες. Corresponding roughly to the Troad. Ionic and Aeolic Greeks had formed an important part of the army of Datis and Artaphernes.

18. *Δωριῆες*. Probably the *Δωριῆς Καρσι πρόσκοι* of Thucyd. ii. 9, including Rhodes, Cos, Carpathus and the Triopian promontory.

21. *ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι*. Mardonius presumes upon Xerxes' ignorance of geography. He did not get beyond Athos, which was not half way to Athens.

26. *ἔξυρόντες*. "The author is no doubt thinking of the battles before Troy and Tegea (i. 66), perhaps also of the plain between Eleusis and Thria, on which the Peloponnesians repeatedly offered the Athenians battle. Polyb. xiii. 3." Stein.

29. *οὐδὲ ἀρχήν*. *ἀρχήν*, with a negative, 'at all', is common in Hdt.; found in Soph. (Ant. 92, El. 439, Phil. 1239); not unfrequent, in the form *τὴν ἀρχήν*, in Demosth. and Plato. See Weber on Aristocr. 93, and cf. ch. 218 note.

31. *καταλαμβάνειν*, to restrain; Herodotean and very common, cf. i. 87, *δυναμένους οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν τὸ πῦρ*. ix. 2, *Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον Μαρδόνιον*.

37. *τούτου*. Explained by *μάχεσθαι*.

41. *τὰ πρήγματα*. Here, little more than *οἱ Ἕλληνες*; elsewhere, 'cause', 'party', 'power', with wide signification, chs. 10, 48, 50, etc.

45. *δ' ἄν*, 'anyhow', 'however that may be', used to sum up, or conclude an argument; cf. ch. 134; Thucyd. ii. 5, *Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι...Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ἁμολογοῦσι...ἐκ δ' οὖν...ἐχώρησαν*.

46. ἀπὸ πείρης. Cf. Theocr. xv. 61, ἐς Τροίαν πειράμενοι ἦνθον Ἀχαιοί... πείρα θὴν πάντα τελεῖται.

47. ἐπιλήνας. 'Having glozed over', commended in persuasive, flattering words, lit. smoothed; cf. viii. 142, λήνας in the same sense.

10 4. τῷ δὴ, i.e. τῷ πάτρως εἶναι. The verb ἔλεγε must be supplied a second time; cf. ch. 190.

5. μὴ λεχθεισέων, i.e. εἰ μὴ λεχθῶσι.

7. αἰρέμενον ἐλέσθαι, 'to make choice and select'; cf. ch. 109, ἰὼν παρήϊε. v. 95, φεύγων ἐκφεύγει. vi. 30, ἀνέχθη ἀγόμενος, 84 ἰόντες ἦσαν.

10. παρατρέψωμεν, i.e. to rub it (on the touch stone) by the side of some other, and baser, gold. A frequent simile; cf. Pind. P. x. 67, πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει καὶ νόος ὀρθός.

12. ἡγόρευον μὴ. Cf. iv. 83, the reason there given being τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην.

20. αὐτοῖσι. Neut., cf. ch. 8 (42).

23. καὶ δὴ...συνήνεκε. 'Fac accidisse.' Cf. ch. 186 n.

The special and idiomatic meanings of καὶ δὴ, chiefly found in tragedy, are as follows:—

(1) Supposition, as here. Cf. Eur. Med. 386, καὶ δὴ τεθνᾶσι· τίς με δέξεται πόλις; where Medea contemplates the murder of her children.

(2) 'Already.' Cf. Soph. O. C. 31, ἡ δεῦρο προσστείχοντα καὶ ξορμώμενον; καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα, 'nay, already here'. Ch. 196.

(3) Affirmation in answers. Cf. Soph. El. 316, ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἰστῶρε· τί σοι φίλον; καὶ δὴ σ' ἐρωτῶ. Ar. Av. 175, etc.

29. οὐκ ὦν. The negative form of καὶ δὴ supra (23).

ἐχώρησε (i.e. προχώρησε), i.e. ἐφύχως. Cf. v. 89, ἦλθε μαντήϊον σφί χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται. vii. 68, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας.

34. οἶον, sc. συμβάλλομαι.

37. παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο, followed, as here, by a participle in ix. 109, παντοῖος ἐγένετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, by a simple infin. in iii. 124, παντοίῃ ἐγένετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι Πολυκράτεια. Cf. vii. 59, πολλὰς ἦν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις.

38. **δεόμενοι**, iv. 136 seqq. Their entreaties being backed by Miltiades, the victor at Marathon.

43. **ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐνί**. Cf. ch. 52, viii. 29, **ἐπ' ἡμῶν ἐστι ἄνδρα-ποδίσθαι ὑμέας**.

45. **μηδεμιῇτε**, 'when, etc.'; the negative **μη** (not **οὐ**) is due to the preceding imper.

48. **ἐπὶ σιωντοῦ**. Cf. the common Herodotean **ἐπὶ ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενος**, independently; on one's own responsibility; iii. 155, **ἐπ' ἐμεινωτοῦ βαλλόμενος ἐπρηξα**.

51. **Θλαε**, cf. ch. 37 n.

53. **εἰ ἐπίσποιοτο—εὗρηκε**. Notice the irregularity of the hypothesis. The perfect is equivalent to *an inevitable future*, and by contrast gives emphasis to the opt. (instead of subj. or fut.), which marks the remoteness of the possibility, and so its improbability.

54. **εὗρημα**. Cf. viii. 109; **εὗρημα εὗρηκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα**, is the conclusion of Themistocles after Salamis. Cf. **ἐρμαῖον**.

56. **φαντάζεσθαι**. Usually to shew oneself, of a ghost, ch. 15; of a hostile army, iv. 124; here, in an invidious sense, display themselves, *sese ostentare*.

57. **κνίξει**. Properly of the sting of a nettle, or bite of a fly. Frequently in a metaphorical sense, as here; cf. Soph. O. T. 786, **ἐκνιζέ μ' αἶ τοῦθ'**, of the slur cast on his birth.

τὰ μέγιστα. Cf. Hor. Od. ii. x. 9; i. xxxiv. 12.

59. **κολούειν**. Once only in Thucyd., vii. 66, and then in a similarly metaphorical sense, **ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ᾧ ἀξιούσι προέχουν κολουθῶσι**.

62. **δὲ ὥν ἐφθάτησαν**. The frequentative aorist of compound verbs 'in tmesi' with **ὥν** is very common in Hdt.; cf. ii. 39, **ἀπ' ὥν ἔδοντο**. Ib. 70, **κατ' ὥν ἐπλασε**. Ib. 87, **ἐν ὥν ἐπλησαν** etc. Cf. ch. 164 n.

67. **ἀνὰ χρόνον**, *interiecto tempore*; cf. i. 173, **Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν**.

71. **διαβᾶλλον**, 'slandering'. The word is used in a variety of senses, always with the idea of suspicion, or misrepresentation, prominent:

(1) To slander, accuse falsely, or disparage, as here. Cf.

Dem. 372, ἡ εἰρήνη δι' Αἰσχίνην διαβέβληται, 'has got a bad name'.

(2) to *misrepresent*, speak deceitfully, with or without acc. Cf. viii. 110, Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε. v. 50, διαβάλλων ἐκείνον εἰς. viii. 22, ἵνα τὰ γράμματα, ἐπεὶτε ἀνενεχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας, 'that the writing, when reported to X. and represented as suspicious'.

(3) to *set at variance*. Cf. v. 96, διαβάλλων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα. Esp. in pass.; v. 35, Μεγαβάρη διαβεβλημένος (at feud with); Pl. Phaedo, 67 ε, διαβέβληνται τῷ σώματι, of true philosophers.

77. ἀναπειθόμενος—ἐκμάθη. Cf. ch. 8 n. on πρὶν. ἀναπειθόμενος implies 'not pausing to reflect', and may thus be called virtually negative.

83. ἦθεσι. In the Homeric sense; cf. II. vi. 511, μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομὸν Ἰππῶν. Hes. Op. 137, ἡ θέμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἦθεα. Very common in Hdt. of the settlements of men; cf. vii. 75, viii. 100; of the haunts of lions, vii. 125; even of the path of the sun, ii. 142, τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι.

84. παραβαλλομένων. A term taken from gambling; cf. II. ix. 322, αἰὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος. Thucyd. ii. 44, παῖδας παραβαλλόμενοι (κινδυνεύειν). The transition from the amount staked to the danger run is only natural: thus we get in Thucyd. iii. 14, τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους, though this meaning is more commonly expressed by κίνδυνον ἀναρρίπτειν, where the metaphor is derived from another aspect of the game.

87. ἀναβαλῆν. For another meaning, 'the kingdom devolving upon', cf. ch. 205 n. More commonly ἀποβαίνειν.

91. εἰ...οἶκ. Cf. ch. 46 note.

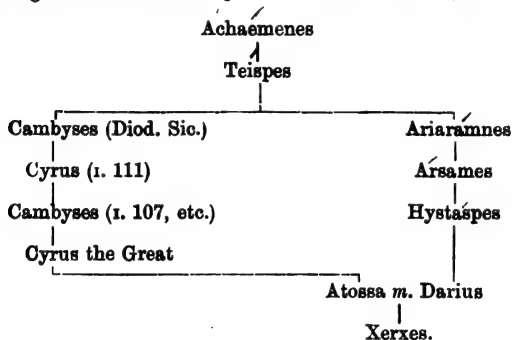
ταῦτα μὲν...σὺ 84. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

92. ἀνάξας. The expedition is regarded as starting by sea, hence ἀνα-.

96. ἡ σέ γε. For this rhetorical and poetical use of the pronoun (anaphora) strengthened by γε in the second clause, cf. II. iii. 409, εἰσκέ σ' ἡ ὀλοχὸν ποιήσεται ἡ δ' γε δούλην. Cf. *Lat. poetical use of ille*. Virg. Aen. v. 334, Non tamen Euryali,

non ille oblitus amorum; xi. 494, *aut ille...aut*. Cf. *ille quidem*, so constant in Cicero, found also in verse; Aen. x. 385, *ille quidem hoc sperans*. The idiom is not common in Hdt., and is only found in speeches; cf. ii. 173, *λάθοι δὲ ἡ τοι μανείς ἢ ὃ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος*.

9. *μή γὰρ εἴην*. The conjecture of Rawlinson, that *καὶ 11 Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω* has been wrongly omitted before *τοῦ Κύρου*, is extremely plausible. Xerxes would then be giving a clear account of his descent on both sides, through Darius and Atossa, from Achaemenes. The right hand column is confirmed by the great Behistun inscription of Darius. See R., s.l.



Nöldeke, however (En. Brit. s. Persia), maintains the direct line of descent through Darius, as given by Hdt.

14. *ἀλλ' οὐκ...ἀλλά*. Distinguish between the two *ἀλλά*'s: 'yet', and 'but'. For the former ('yet'), or 'ἀλλά in apodosis', i.e. introducing the second and chief clause of a conditional sentence, cf. II. viii. 154,

*Εἴπερ γάρ σ' ἔκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάγκη φήσῃ,
ἀλλ' οὐ πείσονται Τρῶες.*

Also cf. 'δὲ in apodosis', ch. 51 (3) n.

καὶ μᾶλα, 'will further...'. It hardly seems to have the definiteness, which Stein's transl. *vel iterum* would convey. Cf. ch. 186 n.

16. *ἐξ ἐκείνων*. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

17. *ἐξαναχωρεῖν*. Cf. the well-known scene between Nicias and Cleon, described in Thucyd. iv. 28, in which the latter *ἐξαναχωρεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα*.

20. *τὸ μέσον κ.τ.λ.* Lit. 'the middle course in this quarrel is nothing', i.e. middle course in this quarrel there is none.

23. *τὸ δεινὸν, τὸ πέλομαι, τοῦτο* is curiously paralleled by Soph. Ant. 95:

*ἀλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβολίαν
παθεῖν τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο.*

25. *ἰὼν δοῦλος*. "Hdt. tells us at the beginning of his history, that the Persians considered Asia and all its nations as their own always (i. 4). In this spirit X. is made to claim Pelops the Phrygian as a vassal, though at the time when Pelops (according to the tradition) came to Greece (about B.C. 1300), the Persian tribes were probably confined as yet within the Caspian Gates, or perhaps had not even emerged from their primitive seats beyond the Hindoo Koosh mountains." (R.)

27. *ἐπώνυμος* takes a gen. of the person or thing, after whom anything is named, with or without *ἐπί*. Cf. Pind. I. v. 53, *θρηικός (αἰετοῦ) κέκλετ' ἐπώνυμον Ἀλαντα*, and Hdt. ii. 112, *ἱρὸν ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμον*.

12 2. *τε...καί*. Coordination of clauses expressing identity in time, which we should make subordinate, one to the other (when night came on, then etc.), is exceedingly common in Hdt.; cf. ch. 23, 217; viii. 56, 64, 83. Cf. also ch. 160 note.

3. *νυκτὶ βουλήν διδοῦς*. Themistocles in his wanderings is advised by a prophet, "*νυκτὶ φωνῇ, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην διδοῦς*", and he, like X., goes to sleep and sees a vision, Plut. Them. 26.

4. *οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα*. *πρῆγμα* sing. in Hdt. has the meaning of (1) business, v. 84, *σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι μηδὲν πρῆγμα*. (2) matter of importance, generally in the phrase *πρῆγμα ποιεῖσθαι*. Cf. ch. 150, but also iii. 132, *ἣν μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκῆδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ*. (3) necessary duty, as here; cf. ch. 130. (4) trouble with *ἔχειν* or *παρέχειν*. Cf. ch. 239. In this sense the pl. is more common.

6. *κατύπνωσε*. Both active and passive forms are used in the same sense; cf. ch. 14, *κατυπνωμένῳ*.

NOTES.
change mind.

9. $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, in 'tmesis'; cf. ch. 10 (62), and 164.

10. **προέπας.** Cf. ch. 2 (5) note.

12. *πάρα*, as Stein well points out, carries the meaning of *πάρεμι*, *neque is (tibi) adsum qui tibi indulgeam*.

5. ἀγγίστροφα. Cf. Thucyd. II. 53 (of those attacked by 13 the plague), ἀγγίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων.

6. ἐμεωντοῦ, after φρενῶν.

8. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι. μέντοι really only modifies the clause νῦν-γνώμη, with which it is repeated, the first clauses being subordinate, and as it were parenthetical, in thought.

12. ^{αἰτιατὸν ἀντικείμενον} αἰ μεταθεσίου. The acc. absolute, with, or without *ὡς*, is common with impers. verbs, or passives used impersonally; cf. III. 148, δόξας. V. 49, παρέχον. IV. 29, ὁρῶς ἐλθόμενον...παράγινεσθαι. αἰ if deemed better to be acc. absolute.

7. παρ' οὐδενός. From a nobody, one of no importance; 14 cf. ix 58, οὐδένες ἄρα ἔχοντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι τοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπε-
δεικνύατο.

9. τὰδε ἀνασχέσειν. In neuter sense, generally of the sun rising. With the present use cf. v. 106, *πρήγμα, ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἡ μέγα ἡ σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχέσειν*.

- ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'from this course'; cf. ch. 8 (42) n.

1. περιδεής. For this intensive use of περι cf. περιοργής, 15 περικαλλής, περιδείδω, περιημεκτεῖν.

2. **Ἰδραμε...πέμπει.** Cf. ch. 42 (11) n.

3. καλέοντα. Future.

8. οὐκ ὦν δυνατός εἰμι, 'yet I find myself unable'; cf. III. 137, ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἐπειθον.

12. διαπειλῶσαν. For the force of δια (thoroughly, i.e. vehemently) cf. διεργάζομαι, διαπορέω, διαπυρθάνομαι, διερευνῶ. The prep. has a different meaning in διαπίνειν (v. 18, ix. 16), διαθεῖν (Pl. Prot. 335 ε), διδάδω, etc., generally followed by dat., which signify to have a drinking match, a race, a singing match, etc. with.

3. τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματος. For the dat. of interest 16 replacing a possess. pronoun, cf. i. 1, τὸ δὲ οἱ ὄνομα. Ib. 31, οἷ σφι βόες. Infr. ch. 27, ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα, 38, 125 etc.

4. οὐκ ἀξιώνεσθαι. It was treason for a subject to take his seat on the throne.

6. ἴσον ἔκείνο. Cf. Hes. Op. 293:

οὗτος μὲν παράριστος, δις αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ·
ἑσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος, ὅς ἐν εἰπόντι πίθεται.

Cf. also Livy xii. 29, Cic. pro Cluent. 31.

ἴσον—καί, 'as good as'; cf. ch. 84 (3) n. τὴν αὐτὴν καί. 50 ὁμοίῃσι καί. Lat. *perinde ac, aequè ac*. ἔκείνο is expl. by φρονέειν εὖ.

8. περιήκοντα has been taken as agreeing (1) with τὰ, governing σε, 'and though both these things have fallen to thy lot'; in which case the clause is a nominativus pendens, and for περιήκοντα no satisfactory expl. can be found: (2) with σε, governing τὰ, σε being governed by σφάλλουσι, 'and though thou hast attained to...'. For περ. cf. vi. 86, τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα.

9. κακῶν ὁμιλῖαι. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 33, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακαί.

11. οὐ περιωρᾶν χρῆσθαι. As Mr Cooke observes, in Wm. Black's *Princess of Thule* there occurs a similar idea. "But that is not the sea at all, said Sheila, that is the storms that will wreck the boats; and how can the sea help that? When the sea is let alone the sea is very good to us." The idea first occurs in a fragment of Solon:

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἣν δέ τις αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

26. αὐται—τά τις. Constr. κατὰ σύνεσιν. 'Those visions, things which we think of', i.e. visions concerning the things we think of.

28. καὶ τὸ κάρτα. The article adds emphasis; cf. i. 71, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι θεοῦ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὐνομα (sc. σοφοῦ) ἔχων.

81. συλλαβῶν. 'Thou hast thyself declared the whole matter in a few words.' Cf. iii. 82, ἐνὶ ἑπεί πάντα συλλαβῶντα εἰπεῖν. In Attic, συνελών, ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, are more common. Others, less probably, have given συλλαβῶν here the meaning of comprehending; cf. i. 91, ii. 49, etc.

33. οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ. Redundant negative, not uncommon after μᾶλλον or other comparatives which imply a neg. Cf. iv. 118, ἡκεὶ γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας. Thucyd. iii. 36, πόλιν δλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. Ib. ii. 62.

35. εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως. 'Supposing indeed it is willing at all to appear.' For ἄλλως in this sense after εἰ, εἴπερ, cf. Aesch. Cho. 680, ἐπεὶ περ ἄλλως, ὦ ξέν', εἰς Ἄργος κίεις. Hdt. vii. 30, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο.

The meaning of ἄλλως, though easy to perceive, is difficult to explain. It means 'apart from the present consideration' (of my personating you), and hence 'in any case' or 'at all'. We may explain in a similar way the use of the word in iii. 139, ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, where ἄλλως seems to mean 'apart from all considerations of money', i.e. gratis.

40. εἰ δὲ. 'What we have now to learn is, whether while disregarding me entirely, under all circumstances, it will yet continue to visit you.' For οὐ after εἰ interrog. cf. ch. 46 n.

45. αὐτὸ, 'your resolve'; cf. ch. 8 (42).

2. ἀποδείξαι. Here, 'to prove'; for other meanings cf. 17 ch. 118 n.

λέγοντα οὐδὲν, 'talking nonsense', or, more generally, 'mistaken', 'wrong'; opp. to λέγειν τι, Soph. O. T. 1475.

6. δνειρον. The Greek idea mixes up dream and vision, and gives to the dream a personal reality. Cf. the sending of the dream to Agamemnon in the beginning of Iliad ii.

κατυπνῶμεν. Distinguish in meaning from κατυπνουμεν.

9. ὥς δὲ, 'because, as you say'.

11. καταπροτξαι. A favourite word with Hdt., used only in the Fut. tense, and often followed, as here, by a Partic.; cf. iii. 156, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ λαβησάμενος καταπροτξεται (cf. προῖκα gratis).

τὸ χρεών, i.e. ἐκεῖνο ὃ χρεών ἐστι. Hdt. and Thucyd. almost always say χρεών ἐστι, Soph. always χρεών alone.

4. καὶ ὅς. Not rare in Hdt. for the demonstrative; cf. viii. 18 56, καὶ οἱ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον. Id. 87, καὶ ἡ,

καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπο-
 μενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον. νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασι-
 λῆτην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνσι
 προσφέρεαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ
 ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ
 δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅτινα τρόπον, τοσοῦτοι ἔοντες, 25
 τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἣν μὴ
 ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.

210 Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα. Τέσσε-
 ρας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων
 αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσέσθαι. πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς
 οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο
 ἀναιδεῖν τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμ- 5
 πει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς,
 ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν
 τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. Ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ'
 ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλουν, καίπερ μεγάλως 10
 προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίουν παντὶ τεφ, καὶ
 οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρω-
 ποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή

211 δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιεί-
 ποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξῆϊσαν, οἱ
 δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν, τοὺς
 ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε
 Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. 5
 Ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὐδὲν
 πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ

Advance and
 repulse of the
 Medes.

Renewed
 attack: re-
 pulse of the
 Immortals.

16. Ἴόνιον πόντον, or Ἴόνιον πόρον, so named after the fugitive Io (Ἰώ), Aesch. P.V. 733. Distinguish carefully from Ἰωνικόν, Ἰωνες (Ἰων, ch. 94).

17. πρὸς μεταμβρότης. Both gen. and acc. are used with πρὸς to express direction; cf. ch. 55, and 126, where the two constructions are found.

1. καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεροι, sc. εἰσι. 'Yea, not even though there 21 be others'; cf. Soph. Phil. 1204, ξίφος εἰ ποθεν, ἢ γένυν, ἢ βελέων τι, προπέμψατε. οὐδ' anticipates the coming negative.

1. ὡς προσπταισάντων. προσπταίω, lit. to strike against, 22 or sprain, e.g. vi. 134, τὸ γόνυ. Hence intr. to stumble, come to grief, as of shipwreck or defeat, ch. 210. Cf. similar use of σφάλλῃσθαι, lit. to be tripped.

For the shipwreck of Mardonius' fleet off Athos, which, together with the defeat of his land force by the Thracians, put an end to the expedition, cf. vi. 44.

5. ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμώμενοι, 'with Elaeus as their base', or headquarters; cf. viii. 112, 133. In i. 36, of a wild boar's lair, ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρεὸς τὰ ἔργα διεφθείρεσκε. Where definite departure from is meant, Hdt. generally uses the Aorist, cf. ch. 26; though not invariably, cf. ch. 30. For the Perf. partic. 'on the march', cf. ch. 37. In general, in the Pres. and Imperf. tenses, ὀρμᾶσθαι signifies to set about doing, or prepare; in the Perf., to have set about, and hence to be in a state of motion, or complete preparation; cf. ch. 1, 4, 19, and see ch. 29 note.

6. ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Lit. compelled by scourges. ὑπὸ and the gen. are used with active and neuter verbs, to express:

(1) *compelling agency or cause*, as here and in ch. 56. So v. 61, ὑπὸ Βωιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι.

(2) *internal impulse*, viii. 1, ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς κ. προθυμίας συνεπλήρου τὰς νέας. i. 85, ὑπὸ δέους ἐρρηξε φωνήν.

(3) *accompaniment or attendant action*, commonly of music: e.g. i. 17, ἐστρατεύετο ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων. Eur. Hipp. 1299, ὑπ' εὐκλείας θάμνῃ, attended by glory. Somewhat similar is the use in ix. 98, ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε, where accompaniment is developed into instrument.

8. Βουβάρης had been sent as envoy to Macedonia (v. 21),

Μηλιεύς, ἤλθε οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσσεσθαι· ἔφρασέ τε
Disclosure of the mountain path to Xerxes. τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεὸς φέρου- 5
 σαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς
 ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ
 φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν [Ἀμφικτυόνων]
 ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκη- 10
 ρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι-
 κύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου.
 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτην δι'
 ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι
 σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων 15
 οὐδὲν ἔσσαν. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων

214 ἀπέθανε. Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς
Epialtes the traitor. Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω, ἀνὴρ Καρύ-
 στιος, καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς, εἰσὶ
 οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους,
 καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐ- 5
 δαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή
 σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι
 ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ
 ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως
 κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ φεύ- 11
 γοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν.
 εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην
 τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμίλη-
 κὼς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περιηγησά-
 μενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον 1.
 215 γράφω. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ

15. καὶ δὴ καὶ, 'and particularly'.

17. ἐπιβάλλε. Cf. iv. 115, ἀπολαχόντες τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, sc. μέρος, what fell to their share; St L. xv. 12, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, of the Prodigal's share.

20. συνήγον αἰεὶ, 'they kept reducing the width'.

κάτω τε δὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 12 (2) n.

21. τοῖσι ἄλλοις, 'to that of the others', a condensed form of expr., 'comparatio compendiaria'. Cf. ii. 134, πυραμίδα πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός. II. xvii. 51, κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι.

23. πολλὸς, with ἐφοίτα, 'was imported in large quantities'. φοιτᾶν, lit. to come frequently, or to come and go, is often employed in reference to articles of commerce; cf. iii. 115, δ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, and inf. ch. 126. The word is also used of regular attendance at lectures or school; hence οἱ φοιτῶντες, schoolboys.

1. ὡς ἐμὲ...ἐπρίσκειν. Cf. ch. 184, 187; viii. 80. συμβάλ- 24
λεσθαι is to conjecture, infer from comparison. For the infin. cf. ii. 28, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανόειν. Id. 125, ὡς ἐμὲ μεμνησθαι, and the common ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. Without ὡς, ch. 173, δοκέτω μοι; ii. 21, λόγῳ εἰπεῖν. Goodwin, § 100. *as I find my self engaged*

5. τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι. A common practice among the Greeks. Thucyd. iii. 81, iv. 8. The line along which ships were dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth acquired the name of Diolcus.

6. ὡς...ἐλασπυμέναι. The same phrase occurs ii. 158, in the description of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.

Traces of the canal still remain, shewing it to have been 25 yds. broad and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length. An undertaking of this size was thought almost superhuman by the Romans. Juvenal disbelieved in it, as well as in the Hellespontine bridge, and the exhaustion of the rivers.

Cf. Sat. x. 173:

Creditur olim

Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Graecia mendax

Audet in historia; constratum classibus isdem

Suppositumque rotis solidum mare; credimus altos

*Defecisse annes, epotaque flumina Medo
Prudente;*

and Catullus, LXVI. 43:

*Ille quoque eversus mons est, quem maximum in orbe
Progenies Thiae clara superuehitur,
Cum Medi peperere notum mare, cumque iuuentus
Per medium classi barbara navit Aithon.*

- 25 2. *επλα*, cables. *οι φαίμενοι*
5. *συνία καταβάλλαν*, dep. on *παρεσκευάζετο*, 'to establish magazines'.
7. *ἀναπυθόμενος*. Cf. *ἀνερυνῶν*, *ἀνασκοπεῖν*, *ἀνακρίνειν*, all denoting careful investigation.
12. *Δορίσκος* (cf. ch. 59) lay at the mouth of the Hebrus; Eton, an Athenian colony, at the mouth of the Strymon. Perinthus was a Samian colony, afterwards famous for its stubborn resistance to Philip of Macedon, B.C. 340.
14. *διατεταγμένοι*, 'severally', 'in separate companies'; cf. ch. 178, VIII. 84.
26 7. *ἐς*. Cf. ch. 87 (18) n.
8. *τὰ προκειμένα*, lit. what is set before one; here, of a prize; above, of a task.
10. *οὐδὲ...ἀρχήν*. Cf. chs. 9 and 218.
12. *ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ*. Cf. ch. 214, *ὠμιληκῶς τῇ χώρῃ*, and Aesch. Eum. 720, *βαρεῖα χώρα τῇδ' ὠμίλησω πάλιν*. Usually of personal intercourse.
18. *πηγαὶ Μαϊάνδρου ποταμοῦ*. Cf. Xen. (An. i. 28), who describes the sources of both the Maeander and Catarrectes or Marayaz. The Maeander, he tells us, welled up in the court of Cyrus' palace at Celaenae, and flowed through his park; the Catarrectes in a cave, where the skin of Marsyas hung.
27 1. *ὕποκατμήμιος*. Cf. VIII. 40, *ὕποκατμήμενους τοὺς βαρβάρους*, of an ambush.
5. *ἐπηγγέλλετο*, 'offered'. A different use from that in ch. 1, where see note.
7. *τίς τι ἐδω...ἐπαγγέλλοιτο*. Here, as frequently, the emphasis of the question lies in the participle; cf. infr. ch. 103, *δοὶ τωὶς ἔδωκεν οἷος τίς εἴσω*.
10. *τοί*. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

τῇ πλατανίστῃ, 'the well known plane tree', which was described by Antiochus, the Arcadian envoy to Susa in 368 B.C., as not large enough to shade a grasshopper (Xen. Hell. vi. 1, 38). Antiochus, however, was, as R. points out, anxious 'to decry the resources of Persia'. It was carried off by Antigonus, B.C. 316. The golden vine overshadowed the royal couch (see R.); the grapes were represented by precious stones.

10. *ταλάντων*. In Persia the Babylonian talent was used 28 in weighing silver, the Euboean (in weight $\frac{2}{3}$ Bab. Tal) in weighing gold, III. 89. This Babylonian talent was of rather less weight than the Aeginetan (82 lbs. avoird.), which was the chief commercial standard of Greece in early times, being considerably greater than the Attic talent of Solon (56 lbs.). The 2000 silver talents would be worth nearly £500,000 of our money, but in reality represented a far greater sum, the purchasing value of silver, and its worth in relation to gold, having been much higher than at the present day. *3 times what it is now*

The Stater and Daric were the chief gold coins of Greece and Persia respectively, and were of about the same value, £1. 2s. nearly, though representing silver to the amount of 16s. 3d. only. The fortune of Pythius in gold would therefore be equal to over four millions of our money.

In i. 94, we are told that the Lydians were the first to use gold and silver coinage.

14. *γῶπεδιον*. Attic *γήπεδον*.

βίος. For *βίος* in the sense of *living* or *maintenance* cf. VIII. 26 and 51.

4. *ἐξήλθον τὴν χώραν*. So v. 104, *ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ*. Ib. 108, 29 *ἐκπλάσαντες ἔξω* (adv.) *τὸν Ἑλλησποντον*, and ch. 58. The special force of the prep. is lost in that of the verb as a whole, to quit. Cf. *ἐκστῆναι*, to shun, Soph. Aj. 82, *φρονοῦντα γὰρ νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὀκνῷ*. Dem. xix. 411, *ἐκτρέπεται με*. Virg. Aen. v. 437, *corpore tela...exit*.

συνέμψα. We can hardly avoid translating the Aor. here by an Engl. Perf. The fact is that in Greek the Perf. and Pluperf. have a very special use, which does not quite correspond to that of the Engl. Perf. and Pluperf., with *have*, *had*. They are, as a rule, reserved to express the *state resulting from a completed*

action; cf. ch. 40, 83, 158, 218, etc. So, where we use the Perf., the Greeks sometimes employ another tense, i.e. the Aor. The point of view from which they regard the action is different from ours. *They* view it as a single act in the past, 'I met', 'I heard': *we* think of the present result rather than the past action, 'I have met', i.e. I remember meeting; 'I have heard', i.e. I am informed.

We may notice three special types of this usage:—

(1) Where the action takes place in the *immediate past*; e.g. συνέμιξα, ἐξείνισας, ch. 158, ἐτόλμησάτε. In many cases of this sort the Aor. may be translated by an Engl. Pres., and is then called a *momentary* Aor.; e.g. ch. 39, ἐτράπευ, ἐτόλμησας. Cf. ἤσθην, ἐπήνεσα, κ.τ.λ.

(2) In expressions referring to an indefinite past; such as ch. 35, ἥδη ἤκουσα. II. 148, ἥδη ἴδον. In Soph. Aj. 1142 foll. εἶδον and ὅπωπα are however both used in this same sense.

(3) When the action is described as preceding some other action, e.g. ch. 39, ὡς ὑπεκρίνατο, ἐκέλευε. 193, ὡς ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἄνεμος, ... ἐπλεον, 'had answered', 'had ceased'.

The difference really lies rather in the mode of viewing the action than in the mere form of expression.

8. συμβαλέσθαι, to contribute; cf. VIII. 61, γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. Cf. the use, ch. 24 (1).

12. τὰς τετρακοσίας κ.τ.λ. The article is used throughout, the reference being to a *definite* amount previously mentioned, and its parts.

15. ἀπαρτιλογίη. 'A round sum' (ἀπαρτί, completely, and λόγος, calculation).

16. κέκτησο, 'continue to possess'; ἐκτήσας, 'you acquired'.

17. ἐπίστασο. 'Know how to', i.e. have the sense to. Cf. III. 15, εἰ ἡπιστήθῃ μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, and Xen. Mem. III. 9, 4 (quoted by Schweig.), τὸν τὰ ἀσχυρὰ εἰδὸτα εὐλαβεῖσθαι.

τοιούτους, 'such as you are at present'. Taking its meaning from the context, and often to be explained by some preceding word or sentence.

19. ἐς χρόνον. Cf. III. 72, and IX. 89, οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει. ἐς χρόνον, 'hereafter', is peculiar to Hdt., though we have εἰς πάντα χρόνον, Aesch. Eum. 763.

3. λίμνην. This salt lake has been identified; the river Lycus 30 still flows in a deep chasm, though no longer arched over (R.).

6. διὰ...κη. διὰ with the gen. frequently expresses an interval (of time or place); cf. ch. 198, also i. 179, διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων, at intervals of 30 layers; Thucyd. iii. 21, διὰ δέκα ἐπέλξεων, and the common διὰ χρόνον πολλοῦ, δι' ὀλίγου, διὰ μακροῦ. As the original meaning of διὰ is *through*, this idiom has plainly arisen from regarding the interval as space to be *passed through*, before the point in question is reached. Below, in διὰ γραμμάτων, the meaning *through* has developed into that of the medium or instrument.

7. ὥς...κη. Modifying πέντε: 'about five, I should say'.

ἀναφαινόμενος. Reappearing. Cf. ἀναβλέπειν, ἀναβιοῦν to recover one's sight, one's life.

8. καὶ οὗτος. As well as the Catarrectes.

12. καταμηνύει. In Attic usually 'to inform against'.

4. ἐπὶ Καρίας, 'towards Caria', ἐς Σάρδεις, 'to (into) Sardis'. 31

5. τῇ καὶ. καὶ, here untranslatable, is idiomatically used to introduce a further detail; cf. ch. 112, τῶν καὶ ἐπὶ.

8. μέλι ποιῶσι. Cf. iv. 194, the description of the Libyan Gyzantes, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἐτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἀνδρας ποιεῖν. Honey, combs and all, is manufactured at the present day in America; that of Callatebus was possibly a less close imitation, perhaps resembling the Swiss.

9. πλατάνιστον. 'The plane trees of this district are magnificent' (R.).

10. μελεδονῶ. Predicative. Att. ἐπιμελητής. ἀνδρὶ ἀθανάτῳ, one of the Immortal band, for whom see ch. 83; or possibly (with Stein) a guardian, whose successor was appointed before his death, on the analogy of the 'Immortal' warriors.

12. τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ, 'the capital of Lydia'.

3. γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. As tokens of submission. Abicht 32 quotes Arist., Rhet. ii. 23, τὸ δίδόναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεῖν ἐστὶ. Similar demands on the part of Darius had been refused by the Scythian king (iv. 126), but complied with by Amyntas of Macedonia. The reason why Athens and Sparta were accepted is given ch. 133.

4. *πλήν*. Here a conjunction; cf. ch. 84.

5. *ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν*. Hdt. uses both acc. and dat. with *ἐπὶ*, to express the object or end; the acc. however is found after verbs of motion only, only the dat. with abstract nouns. Cf. iii. 14, *ἐξέπεμπε τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπ' ὁδῶν*, and infra ch. 193, *εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον*, whereas we find in i. 68, *ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνέυρηται*. iv. 164, *τοὺς δὲ ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ*. v. 6, *πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ*. Infra ch. 146, *ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον*.

6. *τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ*. This adverbial dat., *ἄλλῃ*, or *τῇ ἄλλῃ*, is used by Hdt. with verbs of motion, as here, as well as of rest, and means, (1) 'in other ways', vi. 21, *δῆλον ἐποίησαν...τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ κ....* (2) 'in other places', ii. 36, *τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δέ....* (3) 'in other directions', ch. 25, *ἄλλα ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας*. Hence, (4) 'to other places', as here, and i. 1, *τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος*. Cf. iii. 61.

πάντη. An anomalous form, from analogy to the instrumentals *κῇ*, *ὅκῃ*, *πολλαχῇ*, etc.

9. *πάγχυ*. Att. *πάνυ*, 'He fully expected'. Cf. i. 81, *δοκέων πάγχυ οἰσεσθαι*. iii. 157, *πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες*.

33 9. *στρατηγοῦ*. Predicative; 'during the command of'.

10. *Ἀρταύκτην*. Artayktes, whose end is recounted ii. 116—120, is there described as *ἀνὴρ δεινὸς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος*. Sestos was taken by the Athenians after Mycale, when the Peloponnesian fleet had retired home.

11. *διαπασσάλευσεν*. Cf. Ar. Eq. 371, *διαπασσάλευθήσεται χαμαί*, where the threat is taken from the notion of stretching out a hide for tanning. *δια* gives the notion of expansion; cf. Lat. *dierectus*. The subject must be supplied from 'Ἀθηναίων'.

12. *Πρωτεσίλω*. Protesilaus of Thessaly, the first of the Greeks to set foot on Trojan soil, was immediately slain by Hector, according to prophecy, ii. ii. 695 seqq. The subject is treated by Wordsworth in his *Laodamia*.

34 1. *ὀρμύμενοι*. Cf. ch. 22 note.

2. *τοιοῖς προσέκτετο*, sc. *γεφυρώσαι*. Cf. ch. 36, where the antecedent is expressed.

τὴν μὲν, sc. *γέφυραν*, supplied from *ἐγεφύρουν*. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 68, *λιπώδεσμος σχεδία*.

passive in sense for the τὸ ἔργον & its compounds -

4. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. Cf. I. 26, ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε πόλιος κ. τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. This constr. of a singular verb with a pl. subject (not neuter) is known as the 'schema Pindaricum', though rare in Pindar; it is usually found where (as here) the subject follows. Cf. Pl. Euthyd. 302 c, ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ βωμοί....Pind. P. x. 71, ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται πατρώϊαι κεδναὶ πολλῶν κυβερνάσιες. Eur. Ion 1146, ἐνῆν δ' ὕφανται γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ' ὕφαί. Hdt. often uses a different constr. in expressing measurements, making the verb agree with a predicate in the pl., when the subj. is sing. Cf. I. 93, ἡ μὲν περιόδος εἰσι στάδιοι ἑξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα. III. 60, τὸ μῆκος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι. IV. 85 etc.

6. ἐπιγενόμενος. Frequently of sudden action, especially of some natural phenomenon; cf. VIII. 13, πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε κ. τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγλυετο.

ἐκεῖνα πάντα. 'The whole work.'

8. ἐπικέσθαι: cf. ch. 9 (4) n. This verb (to reach, attain 35 to) usually takes a gen.; here, however, ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι = to visit with the scourge, i.e. to scourge; hence an acc. of the direct object follows, together with a cognate acc. πληγὰς. In the similar usage, Soph. O. T. 809, μέσον κάρη διπλοῖς κέντροισι μου καθίκετο, the retention of the gen. gives greater vividness and vehemence. The acc. there is of the 'part affected' (Jebb).

Blakesley, on the contrary, takes πληγὰς as subject to ἐπικέσθαι: in this case, μάστιγι would be an instrumental closely joined with πληγὰς, like Pindar's ἄρματι νίκαν, 'victory won by a chariot', P. VII. 17.

5. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, cf. ch. 55 (15) n. 'Nay, I have even heard' (R.). ἤδη seems here to have the meaning of 'nay more' or 'actually', introducing a climax: the use of *etiam* (primarily, 'even now') for 'further' or 'even' is parallel. Cf. II. 148, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἶδον λόγου μέγ' (which I saw with my own eyes and know to be beyond description); II. 175, ἤδη δὲ τιμὴς λέγουσι ὥς.... (some go so far as to assert that); IV. 77, καὶ τοι τινα ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον (a story which Hdt. subsequently admits to be improbable). For the simpler meaning of ἤδη, marking a *fresh step*, from which this is derived, cf. ch. 184 n.

στιγίας. Cf. Juv. x. 183,

*Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum
Credidit.*

7. δὴ ὦν. Similar to, but rather stronger than δ' ὦν, for which see ch. 9 (45) n. *Αὐγλήν, νόμον that may be*
βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. Reckless insolence and contempt of things divine was the sin hateful above all others to the Greek mind.

11. ἦν τε... ἦν τε μή. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

13. ποταμῷ. "The Hellespont, perfectly landlocked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a 'river;' and it is from this notion of it that the epithets πλατὺς, ἀπείρων are applied to it in the Homeric poems." B.

The account of Xerxes' punishment of the Hellespont has been discredited by many. Blakesley believes that the story arose from a too literal interpretation of Aeschylus' language, Persae 745, seqq.

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δοῦλον ὥς, δεσμώμασιν
ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥέον θεοῦ,
καὶ πόρον μετερρόθυμζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ
θυητὸς ὦν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων φετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν· πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόστος φρενῶν;

There seems, however, to be no sufficient reason for disbelieving the account of Hdt. Such childishness, as Grote shows (ch. 38), was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Cf. with this passage i. 189, where Cyrus punishes the river Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels! Plutarch (De Ira Coerc. 455) tells us that Xerxes also wrote a threatening letter to Mount Athos, and Juvenal supposes him to have extended his vengeance to the winds, x. 180,

In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis.

14. τῶν ἐπιστάτων, 'of the overseers'; probably Persians of high rank, as in the case of the canal, ch. 22.

36 2. ἡ ἀχαρίς τιμή. τιμή, 'office', but not without an idea of honour (cf. Lat. honores): cf. χάρις ἀχαρίς, so frequent in the tragedians, Aesch. P. V. 545; Ag. 1545; Eur. I. T. 565.

For the meaning of *ἄχαρις*, cf. ch. 190 note.

τοὺς δὲ, sc. *γεφύρας*, cf. ch. 34 (2).

4. *πεντηκοντήρους κ. τριήρας*. The penteconter was a smaller and more old-fashioned ship than the trireme, having only one bank of 25 oars on each side. Penteconters were introduced by the Phocaeans, about the time of Cyrus (i. 163). Triremes were first built at Corinth, and were not largely used even by the Corcyreans and Sicilian tyrants, who then owned the largest fleets, till shortly before this time. Thucyd. i. 13, 14.

συνθέντες, explaining *ὥδε*. Cf. v. 16, *οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον—κρατέων ἕκαστος*. Infra ch. 127, *ἐπέσχε χώραν τοσόνδε—ἀρτάμενος*.

ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου, 'to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea' (R.). As Grote observes (ch. 38), the ships acted as the supports or piles of the bridge, which was built on the top of them, so as to form a continuous way.

Two bridges were thrown across the Hellespont, one being used for the transit of the army itself, the other for that of the sumpter beasts and camp-followers (ch. 55). The breadth of the channel may have differed at the different points; this would account for the larger number of ships in the bridge on the Euxine side: it is also possible that they had here to be moored nearer together, in order to resist the full force of the current flowing from the Euxine. Whether or not both kinds of ships were used for both bridges, we have no means of knowing. The whole passage is difficult, and indeed none of the explanations given can be considered quite convincing. That of Grote is the simpler, and therefore in some degree preferable, though Blakesley's gives perhaps the better sense, when well considered. See below.

7. *τοῦ μὲν...ῥόου*. The chief difficulty here is the expression *τοῦ Πόντου ἐκίκαρτος*, which has been variously explained:—

(1) According to Grote (followed by R.), 'the course of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, flowing out of the Euxine sea, is conceived by the historian as meeting that sea at right angles':

thus the ships also, each of which was moored facing down stream, would lie at right angles to the Euxine.

(2) B.'s view: 'at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont'. 'Owing to the shape of the channel, the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other': accordingly the ships, each of which followed the exact direction of the current, would not lie parallel, but at an angle to 'the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis'.

For the meaning of *ἐπικαρσίας*, 'cross', esp. 'at an angle to' (usually a right angle), cf. i. 180, the description of Babylon, which lies in a perfect square, and is divided into two rectangles by the river Euphrates: τὸ δὲ δστυ κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς *ἰθέας* τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς *ἐπικαρσίας* τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας, i.e. all its streets are out in straight lines, the cross ones leading to the river, as well as the rest (i.e. those parallel to it). There is no contrast here, as some suppose, between *ἰθέας* and *ἐπικαρσίας*, the cross streets being themselves straight.

Cf. also iv. 101, where, in the account of Scythia, also supposed to form a square, τὰ *ἐπικάρσια* means the coast line, as opposed to τὰ ὄρβια, τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, to which these are at right angles.

The Gen. τοῦ Πόντου is a loose Gen. of connexion ('as regards the P.'), partly due to the antithetical τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

8. *ἵνα...δπλων*, 'in order to hold fast the tension of the cables'. The current would tend to bear the ships down toward the Aegean, and thus the cables passing across them would be kept tightly stretched.

ἀνακωχεύειν (Att. *ἀνοκ*-), lit. to hold back, is used of ships kept at anchor, infra ch. 100, 168, and of reining in a pair of horses, Soph. El. 732; hence metaphorically of a person, ix. 13, *ἀνεκώχευε* (sc. *ἑωυτὸν*) *θέλων εἰδέναι ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι*. Cf. *ἀνοκωχή*, truce, restraining of hostilities.

The subject of *ἀνακωχέη* is not expressed, and must be supplied from *συνθέντες*, i.e. *ἡ συνθέσις*, or some such word. Others prefer to take ὁ *ῥόος* as the subject, but the *ἀνακωχή* is produced by the whole arrangement; the stream itself does not directly influence the cables. Cf. the beginning of this chapter, also

ch. 34, where a noun is supplied from a verb; and for omission of the subject, where the sense is clear, cf. II. 47, VII. 85, IX. 8.

10. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. γεφύρας. Abl. Gen. after κατήκαν, 'from the one'. Cf. 46 (6) n. Others explain that two anchors were dropped from each ship, and tr. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. χειρὸς, 'on the other side'.

11. ἔσωθεν, i.e. ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.

12. τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου. It does not seem necessary to bracket τῆς with Blakesley: there is a slight change of constr. in the second half of the sentence, but such variety is not unfrequent. In the first half, the direction, πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου, is expressed adverbially, so as to modify κατήκαν. In the second half, πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου is adjectival and further specifies τῆς ἐτέρης. εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων in the one case corresponds to εἵρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα in the other.

Stein adopts the conjecture γεφύρου for εἵρου of the mss., but it is difficult to form an opinion without local knowledge.

One large anchor was dropped from every ship in either bridge, on the Euxine side to guard against the winds from that quarter, on the Aegean side for security against the S. and S.E. winds.

13. διέκπλοος. Predic.: lit. 'a sailing out through', hence a passage through which to sail: similarly ὑπόφανσις, lit. a glimpse, comes to mean a narrow opening, 'a gap in the pentecosters'. The openings were probably left at points where the current was weak and the smaller ships were therefore used.

14. καὶ τριχού, 'in no fewer than three places' (R.). St. reads καὶ τριηρέων.

17. κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς, 'stretched from the shore'. Cf. the common δεῖν ἐκ τινος, to fasten to something.

δνοισι ξυλίνουσι, instrumental, with στρεβλοῦντες.

21. καλλονή, 'quality'.

κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion'.

25. κόσμῳ. Hdt. also uses the acc. VIII. 117, and σὺν κόσμῳ, VIII. 86.

τῶν δπλων τοῦ τόνου, i.q. τῶν ἐντεταμένων δπλων.

31. ὑπερορῶντα. Almost always in a metaphorical sense.

- 37 2. τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθω. Expl. by αἱ τε χυραὶ and αὐτὰ ἡ διώρυξ.

χυραί. 'Breakwaters', to prevent the mouths of the canal being filled up with sand and shingle. χῶμα is the more usual word.

3. ῥηχ(ης, here, 'surf'; in ch. 198, of the flow of the tide.

6. πεποιθμένη ἤγγελλετο. Attracted to go with the word in apposition instead of with the original subject. For the partic. cf. II. 121, ἀπηγγέλθη ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκελεμμένος, 23 (10) n.

8. ὁρμάτο. Cf. ch. 22 n. ὁρμ. οἱ dat. of person indirectly interested.

9. τήν...ἔβην. A form of 'pregnant constr.' (i.e. in which two ideas are combined, as here those of motion and rest). The idea of motion in ἐκκλινών causes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. to be substituted for the natural ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. ch. 38, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, and 230, ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοῦς. οἱ ἐκ Θρηίκης, ch. 106 etc.

It has been ascertained that no such eclipse was visible at this time in West Asia. It is possible that the annular eclipse of 478, visible at Sardis, was, in the minds of the Persians, associated with the disastrous expedition of Xerxes, and afterwards, through carelessness of statement, described as a premonitory sign.

10. αἰθρίας τε, sc. εὐούσης. For οὔτε—τε, see ch. 8 n.

12. μαθόντι, having remarked, taken it in. Cf. ch. 46, and 188, αὐτόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἀνεμον.

ἐπιμαλὲς ἐγένετο. So I. 89, v. 12 etc.

18. τοῖς μάγοις. The Magi were one of the Median tribes, I. 101. Among them divination and soothsaying were hereditary, though not in every member of the tribe, I. 108. On the death of the Persian Cambyses they had regained the sovereignty for the Medes, in the person of the False Smerdis. When Smerdis was slain by Darius, a general slaughter of the Magi had ensued. The race, however, was by no means exterminated. They are constantly mentioned afterwards as performing sacred rites, expounding dreams, omens, etc.

τὸ ὅλν. The use of the rel. pron. to introduce an indir. interrog., though rare in other authors, is very common in

Hdt.; cf. ch. 26, 148, vi. 124, and is also found in Homer; cf. Π. π. 365, γνῶση ἐπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τε νῦ λαῶν.

Θάλειν, or **ἐθέλειν**, has, besides the ordinary use (to wish, or be willing), the foll. meanings in Hdt. :—

(1) *To be wont*; cf. viii. 60, οἰκῶτα βουλευομένοισι...ἐθέλει γινεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκῶτα...οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν. Cf. use of φιλέει ὁ θεός, ch. 10; also ch. 50, 157.

(2) A meaning still, in some cases, akin to the original one, to *wish*, or *choose*, but extended in use to impersonal objects, and even events, so that it may generally be transl. 'to happen', although in this, as in any Engl. rendering, much of the quaint simplicity and naïveté of the original is lost. Cf. ii. 11, εἰ ὧν δὴ ἐθέλησει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ρέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος (almost = *If he shall take it into his head*); i. 109, εἰ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. Ch. 10, εἰ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, and ch. 49.

(3) Joined with εἶναι, λέγειν, etc. it signifies *to mean*, as here. Cf. vi. 37, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

1. **ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν**. **ἐλάνειν** is used both tr. and 38 intr. in the sense of *marching*; cf. supr. ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον, and ch. 182 n.

5. **ἄν**, with **βουλοίμην**.

6. **γενόμενον**, 'if granted'.

11. **καταλαμβάνει**. Very frequent in Hdt. as here, 'be-falls'; but in a good, as well as a bad sense; cf. iii. 139, τοῦτον κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις, and ch. 155. For other meanings cf. ch. 9 (31) n., and 211, 230.

13. **ἡλικίης**. Gen. of divided whole, frequently used of place, both metaphorically and literally, as in ch. 83, τῆς Χερσονήσου.

14. **μοι**. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίης. Cf. ch. 88, vi. 94, Μαρδόνιον παράλπει τῆς στρατηγίης, and v. 75, παραλυμένου τοῦ ἑτέρου σο. τῆς στρατηγίης. The metaphor is from unyoking an animal.

16. **μελεδωνός**. See ch. 31 n.

17. **καὶ πρήξας...ἔπίσω**. Larcher compares the prayer of Chryses, Π. i. 18, 19.

2. **ἀνθρώπε**, a term of contempt. Cf. viii. 125.

πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ, Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὖρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

16. *ἄρμα Διός*. Διός probably means Ormuzd, the supreme Deity of the Persians, creator of all good, including the lesser gods and spirits of light, as well as the human race. Opposed to Ormuzd and his creatures stood Ahriman, god of darkness and evil, creator of the lesser gods and spirits of darkness, and of all things evil. (Spiegel.)

ἐπετέτακτο. 'Had been posted after', i.e. followed.

21. *ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων*. *ἄρμα* is used to mean (1) The chariot, Aesch. Pers. 190, *ἄρμασιν δ' ὑπο ζεύγυνται αὐτῷ*. (2) The chariot with the horses yoked to it, as here. So Pindar, *ἄρμα τέθριππον*, frequently. (3) The yoked horses, the team, *ἄρμασιν ἐνδίδωσι κέντρον*, Eur. H. F. 881. *τρίπῳλον ἄρμα δαιμόνων*, i.e. three goddesses, Andr. 276.

παρεβιβήκει. Had taken up his stand beside him, i.e. stood.

22. *Ὀτάνω*. Otanes, a Persian noble of high rank, had been one of the six who, with Darius at their head, overthrew the False Smerdis, iii. 68. On surrendering all claims to the throne, Otanes and his house were pronounced by the other six to be free, alone of all the Persians. On state occasions, R. tells us, an attendant also stood in the chariot, to bear the royal parasol.

2. *μετεβαίνεσκε*. Notice the force of the prepositions; 41 'he used to get out and change into'. Iterative tenses in -σκον are Ionic, being found in Homer as well as Hdt. Gdw. § 30, 2, N. 1.

ὅπως μιν λόγος αἰρῶι. Optative of indefinite frequency, cf. oh. 6 n. Lit. 'whenever reason persuaded him', i.e. whenever he felt inclined, so i. 132, iv. 127. *λόγος αἰρῶι* is even more frequently followed by the acc. and infin. meaning, 'reason proves', i.e. 'it stands to reason that', ii. 33, iii. 45, vi. 124. In ii. 43, we find *ὡς ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρῶι*. Cp. Pl. Rep. 604, *ὅπη δὲ λόγος αἰρεῖ βέλτιστα εἶχειν*.

3. *ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν*, a four wheeled, closed carriage, with curtains, generally used only by women and children. In one of these Themistocles was secretly conveyed to the Persian court, Plut. Them. xxvi. Paley compares Aesch. Pers. 1000, *ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς τροχηλάτοισιν ἐπόμενοι*, and Ar. Ach. 68, *ἐσκηνημένοι ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῶν, μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι*.

v. 41, where *ὀχλέω* seems to be used with almost the same meaning, *οἱ οἰκῆιοι πυθόμενοι ὤχλεον· δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐφύλαξαν*. Here it is clear that the 'relations' made their indignation manifest and effective. Cf. also Thucyd. v. 42, of demonstrations raised at unwelcome news in a speech.

The middle constr. is very common, being constantly used of the feeling, which prompts some action: e.g. i. 127, *Πέρσαι... ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλοι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεισθαι*. Here it is evident that the feeling previously existed, without manifestation. Also ii. 161, *ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι ἀπέστησαν*. iv. 33, *ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας οὐκ ἀπονοστήειν, δεινὰ ποιουμένους οὕτω δὴ ἐπισκήπτειν*. For other instances, cf. i. 13, ii. 138, iii. 155, v. 33, vii. 35, viii. 15, 93.

With this latter expression cf. the common phrase, *ἐν οὐδένι, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ἐν ὁμοίῳ* (ch. 138), *περὶ πολλοῦ, ποιεῖσθαι* etc. *ἔρμητο*, 'was eager'; cf. ch. 22 n.

8. *ἐπηγγέλλετο*. 'He began issuing orders.' *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι* means broadly to tender proposals or overtures of any sort, esp. by proclamation, as here; cf. viii. 30, where the proposal includes both an offer and a demand. Hence specially (a) to proffer, e.g. *χρήματα* ch. 27; to profess, as in Pl. Gor. 447 c, *τί ἐστιν ὃ ἐπαγγέλλεται τε καὶ διδάσκει*; and so of spontaneous action, ch. 150. (b) To propose on one's own behalf (chiefly in Hdt.), issue orders, as here. Cf. iv. 200, *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους*.

πόλις. Ionic acc. pl. See App. H. v. π' 4215

9. *ἐτοιμάζειν*, after *ἐπηγγέλλετο*.

ἐκάστοισι, 'to the several races'. Notice the pl.

10. *νέας*. The Ionic acc. pl. App. H. v. *νέας* ships of war, *πλοῖα* transports.

12. *Ἀσίῃ*. In the wide sense, i.e. the continent as known to Hdt., bounded, roughly speaking, by the Indus on the E. and the Caspian on the N., iv. 40. Darius was the 'discoverer' of the greater part of Asia, iv. 44. His sailors sailed down the Indus, and returned by sea to the Gulf of Suez. The name Asia was still used by the Greeks to designate specially the country round Ephesus, even after it had acquired its larger sense.

fond of coupling different tenses, in order to make the narrative more graphic. The action of the verb in the past tense is slurred over, while attention is fixed on that in the present. In ch. 15, ἀνὰ—ἔδραμε depicts the instantaneous start, while πέμπει is the more important act on which the narrator dwells.

αὐτοῦ ταύτη. Very frequent in Hdt.

2. δὲ—πινόμενος. τὸ-ρέεθρ. acc. of respect, lit. 'as to its 43 stream'. πινόμενος with both the verbs. Cf. ch. 21, also ch. 58, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, and 196, μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον πινόμενος. Also without acc., ch. 127, 108.

If it were not for the examples cited, we might be tempted to take ρέεθρ. as direct object of ἐπέλιπε, translating 'channel' as in ch. 130, and comparing II. 25, τῶν θυβρῶν ἐπιλειποντων αὐτοῦς, i.e. τ. ποταμούς.

5. ἀποχρᾶν (with which cf. ἀντιχρᾶν, ἐκχρᾶν) is also used impersonally, both in the Active, ch. 148, VIII. 130, and Middle, VII. 14.

The stream of the Scamander is reduced to about three feet of water in the dry season, and this was no doubt soon fouled by the animals' feet.

6. δὴ, marks the *epanalepsis*, i.e. 'taking up again' of the thread of the sentence. ὡς ἀπικ. Ἐλέξης is a repetition of ἀπικομένου τ. στρ., characteristic of the easy natural style of Hdt.

7. τὸ Πέργαμον. Πέργαμος is fem. in Homer; the tragedians use the neuter pl. Πέργαμα.

9. ἐκείνων ἕκαστα. The several details. Cf. ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ch. 34 (6).

τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ. Alexander likewise sacrificed to the Plian Athene. Such an act seems strange in Xerxes, on his way to outrage the gods of Greece and burn their temples; but consistency was not one of his characteristics, and indeed irreligion and superstition are not unfrequently united in the same person.

11. φόβος...ἐνέπνευσε. Cf. ch. 10, ἐπεὶν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλην ἢ βροντήν. Also IV. 203, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπνευσε.

13. *Ποταμῶν, Ὀφεινῶν, Δάφνων*. — Places of small importance, on or near the coast" (R.).

15. *Γέρμης Τευκρῶν*, called in v. 122, 'the remnant of the ancient Teucrians'.

44 4. *προβέβη*. In iv. 88 we hear that a picture was painted of Darius on a throne of state, watching his troops cross the Bosphorus, in the Scythian expedition.

7. *ἐμέρθῃ*. Not found in good Attic prose.

46 1. *μαθὼν* is repeated in *φρασθεῖς*. Cf. ch. 37 (12). See ch. 43 (6) n.

6. *ἀλλήλων*. Ablative-Genitive, 'from each other'. Cf. ch. 36 (10). The Gen. in Greek is, like the Dat., a 'syncretic' case, i.e. it is used to express the meanings proper to two separate cases, the Gen. and Abl.

ἐργάσας... *πρότερον*. Cf. Ar. Av. 24, *οὐ ταῦτά κρῶζει νῦν τε καὶ τότε*. *ἐργάσας* is a momentary aorist.

7. *μακαρίσας γάρ*. This 'exegetical γάρ' is untranslatable in English; the γάρ below, so frequent in dialogue, implies the ellipse of *yes*, or a concession of some sort.

8. *ἐσθλὸς με κατοικεῖται*. So viii. 137; also with the dat. i. 86, iii. 14. *εἰσέναι* is used in the same way.

λογισάμενον, with *ὥς εἴη*.

10. *ἐ—γε*, 'since'; hence, the clause being stated as a fact, not a supposition, *οὐδεὶς* not *μηδεὶς* follows.

εἰ is regularly found after *εἰ* in the following cases:

(1) Where *εἰ* is interrogative (= 'whether').

(a) in single interrogations, e.g. i. 90, *εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται*.

(b) in double interrog., e.g. iv. 127, *γνώσεσθε εἴτε ὑμῶν μαχασάμεθα εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχασ*. Ch. 16, *εἰ ἐμὲ μὲν οὐ—σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει*.

(2) Where *εἰ* is causal, as here (=since).

(3) Where *οὐ* is closely joined to another word, with which it forms one idea, e.g. ch. 10 (91) *εἰ—οὐκ ἐθελήσεις*. vi. 9, *εἰ—οὐ ποιήσουσι*. So Pl. Apol. 25 B, *ἐάν τε οὐ φήτε ἐάν τε φήτε*.

(4) When two or more clauses in the indicative, introduced by *μὲν* and *δὲ*, depend upon a single *εἰ* preceding, they have

their separate constructions independently of the *ei*, which affects them only as a whole, and *ou* is almost invariably found: e.g. *ch.* 9, *δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα εἰ Σάκας μὲν... ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα... ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν... δούλους ἔχομεν*, 'Ἑλλήνας δὲ οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα'. Shilleto on Thucyd. i. 121. Dem. xv. 197, 9. Gdw. § 47, 3 N. N.B. Where the optat. is used, *μή* is found.

12. *τούτου*, with *οικτρότερα*.

παρὰ τὴν ζόην. Cf. ii. 121, *παρὰ τὴν πόσιν*. Pl. Legg. 733 A, *παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα*.

πεπόνθαμεν. *πεπονθέναι*, lit. 'to have experienced', often signifies to have a feeling, quality, liability or characteristic; cf. i. 148, *πεπόνθασι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο*, and Ar. Eq. 187, *ὅσον πέπονθας ἀγαθὸν ἐς τὰ πράγματα*, 'what an advantage you have for a political life!'

13. *οὐδεὶς οὕτω... εὐδαίμων τῷ*. *ὥς* or *ὥστε* are frequently replaced by the rel. pron. in Hdt. For order cf. viii. 15, *νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαινέσθαι*. ix. 45, *οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον*, also *infra ch.* 143.

15. *παραστήσεται*, 'it will occur'; cf. Thucyd. iv. 95, *ταῦτα παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ ὕμῶν ὥς...* Dem. iii. 28, *οὐχὶ παρισταταὶ μοι γινώσκειν*.

καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ. 'Ay, not once only.'

21. *γέγονε*, 'proves'.

22. *ἐν αὐτῷ*, 'herein'. Cf. *ch.* 8 (42), 50 (11), *ἐν αὐτοῖσι*. In *γλυκὲν γεύσας τ. αἰῶνα* the emphasis lies on the adj., 'by giving a taste of sweetness, sufficient only to cause regret'. Cf. Heb. vi. 5, *καλὸν γευσάμενους θεοῦ ῥῆμα*. For the sentiment, cf. Solon's speech to Croesus, i. 32, *πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὀλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε (ὑποδέξας, 'having given a glimpse of')*; also the letter of Amasis to Polycrates, iii. 40, and the previous words of Artabanus himself, *ch.* 10. The whole work of Hdt. is pervaded by an idea of divine *φθόρος*, bringing ruin not only on the impious (as Xerxes), and their descendants (cf. vii. 137), but also on the notably prosperous (as Polycrates), those predestined by fate (as Candaules, i. 8), and any who unwittingly contravene their destiny (as Mucerinus of Egypt, ii. 133). See R. vol. i. p. 91.

- 47 5. *μηδὲ κακῶν...χερσὶ*. This dread of ill-omened speech was essentially characteristic of the Greeks, though here, as in many other instances, Hdt. puts a Greek sentiment in the mouth of a foreigner. Cf. ch. 51, 53.

10. *ἀτρεκέως*. A favourite word of Hdt.; cf. ch. 10 (78), viii. 8. The original meaning of *ἀτρεκής* seems to be 'without turning', 'unflinching', cogn. w. *τρέπω*. Cf. Pind. N. iii. 41, *ἀτρεκέϊ ποδί*. v. 17, *φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής*. Hence the meaning of confidence, certainty, exactitude.

- 48 1. *δαιμόνι ἀνδρῶν*. ὦ δαιμόνιε implies surprise mingled with vexation, scorn, or pity, as the case may be; cf. iv. 126, viii. 84. In the Iliad and Odyssey it is used in every variety of reproof; by angry Odysseus to the fleeing Greeks (Π. ii. 200), by contemptuous Diomed to Agamemnon (ix. 40), by Andromache in tender remonstrance to Hector (vi. 407). Cf. too the use in Aristophanes; e.g. Av. 1638, ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνθρώπων, Πόσειδον, ποῖ φέρει;

In Pl. also the sense varies with the speaker's feelings, whose surprise is sometimes roused not by the person addressed so much as by some step in the argument. See Prof. Campbell, Theaet. App. E.

2. *κοῖα*. Incredulous.

5. *τοῦ ἡμετέρου*. Gen. of comparison; so infra, τοῦ ἐκείνων.

6. *λείψεσθαι*. Cf. ch. 8 n.

9. *τὴν ταχίστην*, so. ὁδόν. Cf. ch. 62 (1) n.

ἀν τις ποιούτο. The Greeks use an active constr. with *τις* in cases where the subject is not clearly conceived; in English the passive would be found, the agent not expressed. 'Another army could be raised.' In viii. 109 *τις* (= *ἡμεῖς*) simply lightens and varies the constr.; cf. ix. 45, *μνησθήναι τινα χροῇ καὶ ἐμεῦ*, where *τινα* is more delicate and less direct than *ἑμέας*. Cf. also infr. ch. 102, 237. In Soph. Ant. 751, *θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινα*, *τινα* is purposely obscure; for Haemon, while seeming to threaten, really refers to his own death. In Ar. the word is often used ironically, in threats, etc. for *σύ*. Cf. Ran. 554, *δώσει τις δίκην*, also Soph. Aj. 1138.

- 49 2. *στρατὸν τοῦτον*, cf. ch. 130, n. on *ποταμῶ τούτῳ*.

δοτις γε...ἔχει=εἰ τις...ἔχει. Cf. Gdw. § 61, 4.

9. φερέγγυος, lit. 'giving (i.e. able to give) surety', hence trustworthy, capable.

10. ἓνα αὐτὸν, i.q. ἓνα μόνον. Cf. v. 85, ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον, and infra ch. 130, ἥδε αὐτῇ, this only.

12. οὐκ ἂν δῆ, 'supposing then that—not'. Cf. 10 (29) n.

13. αἱ συμφοραὶ...ἄρχουσι. Cf. i. 82, πᾶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος συμφορῇ, the words of Solon to Croesus.

15. τῶν δύο. δυνῶν is also found, iii. 131, and δυοῖσι, ch. 104. For καὶ δὴ cf. ch. 186 n.

16. ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. Cf. ch. 102, ἔρχομαι λέξων, always referring to what immediately follows. I come about to tell of, 'I am here on the point of relating'.

γῇ δὲ πολέμῃ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 792, αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῇ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει...κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

17. εἰ ἐθέλει, 'if it happens that'. Cf. ch. 37 (13) n.

19. τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, 'lured blindly further and further'. The Voice is probably Middle. Xerxes will deceive himself into the foolhardiness of advancing further and further from his supplies. For this meaning of κλέπτειν cf. Pl. Rep. 413 b, κλαπέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ἢ γοητευθέντες, where, however, the Voice is, of course, Pass.; Ar. Rhet. iii. 7, 5.

20. εὐπρηξίης...πληθώρα, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1331, τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφην | πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν.

22. τὴν χώραν, 'the distance', i.e. between the army and Asia, or the stores.

23. εἰ βουλευόμενος...εἴη. A similar axiom is expressed by Hermocrates, Thucyd. vi. 34, whose counsel is: τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ δεικνυσθαι, τὸ δ' ἡδὴ τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας (νομίζειν).

5. ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπιεσφ. Cf. ch. 23 (6) n. In the partic. 50 ἐπὶ expresses *succession*, 'each fresh matter that comes before you'. Cf. ch. 2 (11).

6. τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, 'to calculate all chances equally', i.e. to give equal weight to every possibility, in your deliberations.

7. κρείσσον δὲ...μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 143, αἰρετώτερα—μᾶλλον

- 37 2. τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν. Expl. by αἱ τε χυτοὶ and αὐτὴ ἡ διῶρυξ.

χυτοί. 'Breakwaters', to prevent the mouths of the canal being filled up with sand and shingle. χῶμα is the more usual word.

3. ῥηχίης, here, 'surf'; in ch. 198, of the flow of the tide.

6. πεποιημένη ἡγγελλετο. Attracted to go with the word in apposition instead of with the original subject. For the partic. cf. II. 121, ἀπηγγέλθη ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, 23 (10) n.

8. ὀρμάτο. Cf. ch. 22 n. ὄρμ. οἱ dat. of person indirectly interested.

9. τήν...ἔδρην. A form of 'pregnant constr.' (i.e. in which two ideas are combined, as here those of motion and rest). The idea of motion in ἐκλιπών causes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. to be substituted for the natural ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. ch. 38, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, and 230, ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. οἱ ἐκ Θηρίκης, ch. 106 etc.

It has been ascertained that no such eclipse was visible at this time in West Asia. It is possible that the annular eclipse of 478, visible at Sardis, was, in the minds of the Persians, associated with the disastrous expedition of Xerxes, and afterwards, through carelessness of statement, described as a premonitory sign.

10. αἰθρίης τε, sc. εἰούσης. For οὐτε—τε, see ch. 8 n.

12. μαθόντι, having remarked, taken it in. Cf. ch. 46, and 188, αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον.

ἐπιμαλὲς ἐγένετο. So I. 89, v. 12 etc.

13. τοὺς μάγους. The Magi were one of the Median tribes, I. 101. Among them divination and soothsaying were hereditary, though not in every member of the tribe, I. 108. On the death of the Persian Cambyses they had regained the sovereignty for the Medes, in the person of the False Smerdis. When Smerdis was slain by Darius, a general slaughter of the Magi had ensued. The race, however, was by no means exterminated. They are constantly mentioned afterwards as performing sacred rites, expounding dreams, omens, etc.

τὸ θάλα. The use of the rel. pron. to introduce an indir. interrog., though rare in other authors, is very common in

Hdt.; cf. ch. 26, 148, vi. 124, and is also found in Homer; cf. Π. ii. 365, γνώση ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

Θελεῖν, or **ἐθέλειν**, has, besides the ordinary use (to wish, or be willing), the foll. meanings in Hdt. :—

(1) *To be wont*; cf. viii. 60, οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι... ἐθέλει γινεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκότα... οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν. Cf. use of φιλέει ὁ θεός, ch. 10; also ch. 50, 157.

(2) A meaning still, in some cases, akin to the original one, to *wish*, or *choose*, but extended in use to impersonal objects, and even events, so that it may generally be transl. 'to happen', although in this, as in any Engl. rendering, much of the quaint simplicity and naïveté of the original is lost. Cf. ii. 11, εἰ ὧν δὴ θελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ρέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος (almost = *If he shall take it into his head*); i. 109, εἰ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. Ch. 10, εἰ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, and ch. 49.

(3) Joined with εἶναι, λέγειν, etc. it signifies *to mean*, as here. Cf. vi. 37, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

1. **ἐξηλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν**. ἐλαύνειν is used both tr. and 38 intr. in the sense of marching; cf. supr. ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν, and ch. 182 n.

5. **ἄν**, with βουλοίμην.

6. **γενόμενον**, 'if granted'.

11. **καταλαμβάνει**. Very frequent in Hdt. as here, 'be-falls'; but in a good, as well as a bad sense; cf. iii. 139, τοῦτον κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις, and ch. 155. For other meanings cf. ch. 9 (31) n., and 211, 230.

13. **ἡλικίης**. Gen. of divided whole, frequently used of place, both metaphorically and literally, as in ch. 33, τῆς Χερσονήσου.

14. **μοι**. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας. Cf. ch. 88, vi. 94, Μαρδόνιον παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίας, and v. 75, παραλυομένου τοῦ ἐτέρου sc. τῆς στρατηγίας. The metaphor is from unyoking an animal.

16. **μελεδωνός**. See ch. 31 n.

17. **καὶ πρήξας... ὅπισθε**. Larcher compares the prayer of Chryses, Π. i. 18, 19.

2. **ἄνθρωπε**, a term of contempt. Cf. viii. 125.

action; cf. ch. 40, 83, 158, 218, etc. So, where we use the Perf., the Greeks sometimes employ another tense, i.e. the Aor. The point of view from which they regard the action is different from ours. *They* view it as a single act in the past, 'I met', 'I heard': *we* think of the present result rather than the past action, 'I have met', i.e. I remember meeting; 'I have heard', i.e. I am informed.

We may notice three special types of this usage:—

(1) Where the action takes place in the *immediate past*; e.g. συνέμξα, ἐξείνισας, ch. 158, ἐτόλμησατε. In many cases of this sort the Aor. may be translated by an Engl. Pres., and is then called a *momentary* Aor.; e.g. ch. 39, ἐτράπευ, ἐτόλμησας. Cf. ἤσθην, ἐκήνεσα, κ.τ.λ.

(2) In expressions referring to an indefinite past; such as ch. 35, ἥδη ἤκουσα. II. 148, ἥδη ἴδον. In Soph. Aj. 1142 foll. εἶδον and ὤπωπα are however both used in this same sense.

(3) When the action is described as preceding some other action, e.g. ch. 39, ὡς ὑπεκρίνατο, ἐκέλευε. 193, ὡς ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἄνεμος, ... ἐπλεον, 'had answered', 'had ceased'.

The difference really lies rather in the mode of viewing the action than in the mere form of expression.

8. συμβαλέσθαι, to contribute; cf. VIII. 61, γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. Cf. the use, ch. 24 (1).

12. τὰς τετρακοσίας κ.τ.λ. The article is used throughout, the reference being to a *definite* amount previously mentioned, and its parts.

15. ἀπαρτιλογία. 'A round sum' (ἀπαρτί, completely, and λόγος, calculation).

16. κέκτησο, 'continue to possess'; ἐκτήσαιο, 'you acquired'.

17. ἐπίστασο. 'Know how to', i.e. have the sense to. Cf. III. 15, εἰ ἡπιστήθῃ μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, and Xen. Mem. III. 9, 4 (quoted by Schweig.), τὸν τὰ ἀσχερὰ εἰδὸτα εὐλαβεῖσθαι.

τοιοῦτος, 'such as you are at present'. Taking its meaning from the context, and often to be explained by some preceding word or sentence.

19. ἐς χρόνον. Cf. III. 72, and IX. 89, οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει. ἐς χρόνον, 'hereafter', is peculiar to Hdt., though we have εἰς πάντα χρόνον, Aesch. Eum. 763.

3. *Λίμνην*. This salt lake has been identified; the river Lycus 30 still flows in a deep chasm, though no longer arched over (R.).

6. *διὰ...κη*. *διὰ* with the gen. frequently expresses an interval (of time or place); cf. ch. 198, also i. 179, *διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων*, at intervals of 30 layers; Thucyd. iii. 21, *διὰ δέκα ἐπάλλξεων*, and the common *διὰ χρόνον πολλοῦ*, δι' ὀλίγου, *διὰ μακροῦ*. As the original meaning of *διὰ* is *through*, this idiom has plainly arisen from regarding the interval as space to be *passed through*, before the point in question is reached. Below, in *διὰ γραμμάτων*, the meaning *through* has developed into that of the medium or instrument.

7. *ὥς...κη*. Modifying *πέντε*: 'about five, I should say'.

ἀναφαινόμενος. Reappearing. Cf. *ἀναβλέπειν*, *ἀναβιοῦν* to recover one's sight, one's life.

8. *καὶ οὗτος*. As well as the Catarrectes.

12. *καταμηνύει*. In Attic usually 'to inform against'.

4. *ἐπὶ Καρίης*, 'towards Caria', *ἐς Σάρδεις*, 'to (into) Sardis'. 31

5. *τῇ καὶ*. *καὶ*, here untranslatable, is idiomatically used to introduce a further detail; cf. ch. 112, *τῶν καὶ ἐνί*.

8. *μέλι ποιῶσι*. Cf. iv. 194, the description of the Libyan *Gyzantes*, *ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται*, *πολλῶ δ' ἐτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν*. Honey, combs and all, is manufactured at the present day in America; that of Callatebus was possibly a less close imitation, perhaps resembling the Swiss.

9. *πλατάνιστον*. 'The plane trees of this district are magnificent' (R.).

10. *μελεδωνῶ*. Predicative. Att. *ἐπιμελητής*. *ἀνδρὶ ἀθανάτῳ*, one of the Immortal band, for whom see ch. 83; or possibly (with Stein) a guardian, whose successor was appointed before his death, on the analogy of the 'Immortal' warriors.

12. *τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ*, 'the capital of Lydia'.

3. *γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ*. As tokens of submission. Abicht 32 quotes Arist., Rhet. ii. 23, *τὸ δίδοναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεῖν ἐστὶ*. Similar demands on the part of Darius had been refused by the Scythian king (iv. 126), but complied with by Amyntas of Macedonia. The reason why Athens and Sparta were excepted is given ch. 133.

ἀνάρτημαι. ἀρτῶ (Ion. ἀρτέω) is literally 'to hang', cf. ἀρτάνη, a noose, ἀρτημα, ear-ring; in Hdt. always metaphorical 'to be dependent on' (ἐκ). Cf. III. 19, πᾶς ἐκ Φουλίκου ἤρτη ὁ ναυτικός στρατός. VI. 109, πάντα ἐκ σέο ἤρτηται. In the *pass* the word has the meaning of being prepared (on the strain) VIII. 97; so 'to prepare', with acc. ch. 143. ἀναρτῶμαι mean to prepare one's mind, determine, cf. VI. 88, μαθὼν τοὺς Ἀθηνάους ἀνηρτημένους ἔρδω. Cf. παραρτέσθαι chs. 20 and 142.

42. ἐν αἰτοῖσι. Neuter, the undertaking, cf. I. 9, an *infra* chs. 46 and 50.

59. ἐν ἡμετέρον. This very strange expression, which occurs also in I. 35, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρον, would seem to be formed through a confusion of the phrases ἐν ἡμετέρα, sc. χώρα, and ἐν ἡμῶν.

61. τίθημι ἐς μέσον. VI. 129, τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. Γ 97, γνώμη τὴν ἀρίστην εὕρισκον ἐς μέσον φέρω.

9 4. ἐπίκειο. In ch. 35 the verb is used with a different application, but with the same idea of coming down upon 'touching upon'.

6. καταγελᾶσαι ἡμῖν. So III. 37, 38, etc. The gen., which is alw. used in Att., is found V. 68; cf. ch. 191 n.

7. Σάκας. Probably referring to the Scythian expedition of Darius (IV. 1).

8. Ἰνδοὺς, i.e. the Punjab, conquered by Darius, IV. 44.

Αἰθίοπας, i.e. those bordering on Egypt, III. 97, who were reduced by Cambyses; his expedition against the Ethiopians of Central Africa (the Soudan) was an utter failure, III. 25.

Ἀσσυρίους. Referring to Cyrus' conquest of Babylon I. 178.

12. εἰ...οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα. Cf. ch. 46, note on εἰ οὐ (4).

13. συστροφήν. Cf. VI. 6, συστραφέντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον. Thucyd. II. 4, ὡς ἐγνώσαν ἡπατημένους ἐνεστρέφοντο ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς.

14. ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν...ἐπιστάμεθα δέ. Hdt. and Soph. are both fond of repeating a word with μὲν...δὲ, without inplying a contrast, or indeed anything more than τε...καί; cf. O. T. 219, ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου...ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος. Ib. 25. Hdt. II. 141, κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τόξα. III. 126 etc.

4. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. Cf. I. 26, ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε πόλεως κ. τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. This constr. of a singular verb with a pl. subject (not neuter) is known as the 'schema Pindaricum', though rare in Pindar; it is usually found where (as here) the subject follows. Cf. Pl. Euthyd. 302 c, ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ βωμοί....Pind. P. x. 71, ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται πατρώϊαι κελύαι πολλῶν κυβερνάσιες. Eur. Ion 1146, ἐνῆν δ' ὕφανται γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ' ὕφαί. Hdt. often uses a different constr. in expressing measurements, making the verb agree with a predicate in the pl., when the subj. is sing. Cf. I. 93, ἡ μὲν περιόδος εἰσι στάδιοι ἐξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα. III. 60, τὸ μῆκος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι. IV. 85 etc.

6. ἐπιγενόμενος. Frequently of sudden action, especially of some natural phenomenon; cf. VIII. 13, πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χερσὶν τε κ. τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίγνετο.

ἐκείνα πάντα. 'The whole work.'

3. ἐπικέσθαι: cf. ch. 9 (4) n. This verb (to reach, attain 35 to) usually takes a gen.; here, however, ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι = to visit with the scourge, i.e. to scourge; hence an acc. of the direct object follows, together with a cognate acc. πληγὰς. In the similar usage, Soph. O. T. 809, μέσον κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισι μου καθίκετο, the retention of the gen. gives greater vividness and vehemence. The acc. there is of the 'part affected' (Jebb).

Blakesley, on the contrary, takes πληγὰς as subject to ἐπικέσθαι: in this case, μάστιγι would be an instrumental closely joined with πληγὰς, like Pindar's ἄρματι νίκαν, 'victory won by a chariot', P. VII. 17.

5. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, cf. ch. 55 (15) n. 'Nay, I have even heard' (R.). ἤδη seems here to have the meaning of 'nay more' or 'actually', introducing a climax: the use of *etiam* (primarily, 'even now') for 'further' or 'even' is parallel. Cf. II. 148, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἴδον λόγου μέγ' (which I saw with my own eyes and know to be beyond description); II. 175, ἤδη δὲ τινες λέγουσι ὥς.... (some go so far as to assert that); IV. 77, καὶ τοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον (a story which Hdt. subsequently admits to be improbable). For the simpler meaning of ἤδη, marking a *fresh step*, from which this is derived, cf. ch. 184 n.

στιγίας. Cf. Juv. x. 183,

*Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum
Credidit.*

7. δὴ ὦν. Similar to, but rather stronger than δ' ὦν, for which see ch. 9 (45) n. *Αὐγίστι, ὡς ἔστιν* that may be *βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτόσθαλα*. Reckless insolence and contempt of things divine was the sin hateful above all others to the Greek mind.

11. ἦν τε... ἦν τε μή. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

13. ποταμῷ. "The Hellespont, perfectly landlocked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a 'river;' and it is from this notion of it that the epithets *πλατὺς, ἀπείρων* are applied to it in the Homeric poems." B.

The account of Xerxes' punishment of the Hellespont has been discredited by many. Blakesley believes that the story arose from a too literal interpretation of Aeschylus' language, Persae 745, seqq.

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δοῦλον ὥς, δεσμώμασιν
ἤλπισε σχῆσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥέον θεοῦ,
καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ
θηγνὸς ὦν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων φετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν· πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόστος φρενῶν;

There seems, however, to be no sufficient reason for disbelieving the account of Hdt. Such childishness, as Grote shows (ch. 38), was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Cf. with this passage i. 189, where Cyrus punishes the river Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels! Plutarch (De Ira Coerc. 455) tells us that Xerxes also wrote a threatening letter to Mount Athos, and Juvenal supposes him to have extended his vengeance to the winds, x. 180,

In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis.

14. τῶν ἐπιστάτων, 'of the overseers'; probably Persians of high rank, as in the case of the canal, ch. 22.

36 2. ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή. *τιμή*, 'office', but not without an idea of honour (cf. Lat. *honores*): cf. *χάρις ἄχαρις*, so frequent in the *tragedians*, Aesch. P. V. 545; Ag. 1545; Eur. I. T. 565.

For the meaning of *ἀχαρίς*, cf. ch. 190 note.

τὰς δὲ, sc. γαφύρας, cf. ch. 34 (2).

4. *πεντηκοντήρους κ. τριήρας*. The penteconter was a smaller and more old-fashioned ship than the trireme, having only one bank of 25 oars on each side. Penteconters were introduced by the Phocaeans, about the time of Cyrus (i. 163). Triremes were first built at Corinth, and were not largely used even by the Corcyreans and Sicilian tyrants, who then owned the largest fleets, till shortly before this time. Thucyd. i. 13, 14.

συνθέντες, explaining ὥδε. Cf. v. 16, *οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον—κρατέων ἕκαστος*. Infra ch. 127, *ἐπέσχε χώραν τοσόνδε—ἀρξάμενος*.

ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου, 'to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea' (R.). As Grote observes (ch. 38), the ships acted as the supports or piles of the bridge, which was built on the top of them, so as to form a continuous way.

Two bridges were thrown across the Hellespont, one being used for the transit of the army itself, the other for that of the sumpter beasts and camp-followers (ch. 55). The breadth of the channel may have differed at the different points; this would account for the larger number of ships in the bridge on the Euxine side: it is also possible that they had here to be moored nearer together, in order to resist the full force of the current flowing from the Euxine. Whether or not both kinds of ships were used for both bridges, we have no means of knowing. The whole passage is difficult, and indeed none of the explanations given can be considered quite convincing. That of Grote is the simpler, and therefore in some degree preferable, though Blakesley's gives perhaps the better sense, when well considered. See below.

7. *τοῦ μὲν... ὁδόν*. The chief difficulty here is the expression *τοῦ Πόντου ἐπικαρίας*, which has been variously explained:—

(1) According to Grote (followed by R.), 'the course of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, flowing out of the Euxine sea, is conceived by the historian as meeting that sea at right angles':

thus the ships also, each of which was moored facing down stream, would lie at right angles to the Euxine.

(2) B.'s view: 'at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont'. 'Owing to the shape of the channel, the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other': accordingly the ships, each of which followed the exact direction of the current, would not lie parallel, but at an angle to 'the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis'.

For the meaning of *ἐπικαρσίας*, 'cross', esp. 'at an angle to' (usually a right angle), cf. i. 180, the description of Babylon, which lies in a perfect square, and is divided into two rectangles by the river Euphrates: τὸ δὲ ἄστυ κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰσέας τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας, i.e. all its streets are cut in straight lines, the cross ones leading to the river, as well as the rest (i.e. those parallel to it). There is no contrast here, as some suppose, between *ἰσέας* and *ἐπικαρσίας*, the cross streets being themselves straight.

Cf. also iv. 101, where, in the account of Scythia, also supposed to form a square, τὰ ἐπικάρσια means the coast line, as opposed to τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς μεσόγειαν φέροντα, to which these are at right angles.

The Gen. τοῦ Πόντου is a loose Gen. of connexion ('as regards the P.'), partly due to the antithetical τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

8. ἵνα...ἔπλων, 'in order to hold fast the tension of the cables'. The current would tend to bear the ships down toward the Aegean, and thus the cables passing across them would be kept tightly stretched.

ἀνακωχεύειν (Att. ἀνοκ-), lit. to hold back, is used of ships kept at anchor, infra ch. 100, 168, and of reining in a pair of horses, Soph. El. 732; hence metaphorically of a person, ix. 13, ἀνεκώχευε (sc. ἐωυτὸν) θέλων εἰδέναι ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι. Cf. ἀνοκωχή, truce, restraining of hostilities.

The subject of ἀνακωχεῖν is not expressed, and must be supplied from συνθέντες, i.e. ἡ συνθέσις, or some such word. Others prefer to take ὁ ῥόος as the subject, but the ἀνακωχή is produced by the whole arrangement; the stream itself does not directly influence the cables. Cf. the beginning of this chapter, also

ch. 34, where a noun is supplied from a verb; and for omission of the subject, where the sense is clear, cf. II. 47, VII. 85, IX. 8.

10. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. γεφύρας. Abl. Gen. after κατήκαν, 'from the one'. Cf. 46 (6) n. Others explain that two anchors were dropped from each ship, and tr. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. χειρὸς, 'on the other side'.

11. ἔσωθεν, i.e. ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.

12. τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου. It does not seem necessary to bracket τῆς with Blakesley: there is a slight change of constr. in the second half of the sentence, but such variety is not unfrequent. In the first half, the direction, πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου, is expressed adverbially, so as to modify κατήκαν. In the second half, πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου is adjectival and further specifies τῆς ἐτέρης. εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων in the one case corresponds to εἵρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα in the other.

Stein adopts the conjecture γεφύρου for εἵρου of the mss., but it is difficult to form an opinion without local knowledge.

One large anchor was dropped from every ship in either bridge, on the Euxine side to guard against the winds from that quarter, on the Aegean side for security against the S. and S.E. winds.

13. δίαπλοος. Predic.: lit. 'a sailing out through', hence a passage through which to sail: similarly ὑπόφανσις, lit. a glimpse, comes to mean a narrow opening, 'a gap in the pence-
conters'. The openings were probably left at points where the current was weak and the smaller ships were therefore used.

14. καὶ τριχοῦ, 'in no fewer than three places' (R.). St. reads καὶ τριπλέων.

17. κατέταινον ἐκ γῆς, 'stretched from the shore'. Cf. the common δαῖν ἐκ τινος, to fasten to something.

δοιοῖσι ξυλλοιοῖσι, instrumental, with στρεβλοῦντες.

21. καλλονή, 'quality'.

κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion'.

25. κόσμῳ. Hdt. also uses the acc. VII. 117, and σὺν κόσμῳ, VIII. 86.

τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, i.e. τῶν ἐντεταμένων ὀπλων.

31. ὑπερορῶντα. Almost always in a metaphorical sense.

- 37 2. τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν. Expl. by αἱ τε χυτοὶ and αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ.

χυτοί. 'Breakwaters', to prevent the mouths of the canal being filled up with sand and shingle. χῶμα is the more usual word.

3. ῥηχίης, here, 'surf'; in ch. 198, of the flow of the tide.

6. πεποιημένη ἡγγέλλετο. Attracted to go with the word in apposition instead of with the original subject. For the partic. cf. II. 121, ἀπηγγέλθη ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, 23 (10) n.

8. ὠρμάτο. Cf. ch. 22 n. ὄρμ. οἱ dat. of person indirectly interested.

9. τήν...ἔδρην. A form of 'pregnant constr.' (i.e. in which two ideas are combined, as here those of motion and rest). The idea of motion in ἐκλιπὼν causes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. to be substituted for the natural ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. ch. 38, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, and 230, ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. οἱ ἐκ Θηρίκης, ch. 106 etc.

It has been ascertained that no such eclipse was visible at this time in West Asia. It is possible that the annular eclipse of 478, visible at Sardis, was, in the minds of the Persians, associated with the disastrous expedition of Xerxes, and afterwards, through carelessness of statement, described as a premonitory sign.

10. αἰθρίης τε, sc. εὐούσης. For οὐτε—τε, see ch. 8 n.

12. μαθόντι, having remarked, taken it in. Cf. ch. 46, and 188, αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον.

ἐπιμαλὲς ἐγένετο. So I. 89, v. 12 etc.

13. τοὺς μάγους. The Magi were one of the Median tribes, I. 101. Among them divination and soothsaying were hereditary, though not in every member of the tribe, I. 108. On the death of the Persian Cambyses they had regained the sovereignty for the Medes, in the person of the False Smerdis. When Smerdis was slain by Darius, a general slaughter of the Magi had ensued. The race, however, was by no means exterminated. They are constantly mentioned afterwards as performing sacred rites, expounding dreams, omens, etc.

τὸ θλα. The use of the rel. pron. to introduce an indir. interrog., though rare in other authors, is very common in

Hdt.; cf. ch. 26, 148, vi. 124, and is also found in Homer; cf. II. ii. 365, γνώση ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

θέλειν, or ἐθέλειν, has, besides the ordinary use (to wish, or be willing), the foll. meanings in Hdt. :—

(1) *To be wont*; cf. viii. 60, οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι...ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκότα...οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν. Cf. use of φιλέει ὁ θεός, ch. 10; also ch. 50, 157.

(2) A meaning still, in some cases, akin to the original one, to *wish*, or *choose*, but extended in use to impersonal objects, and even events, so that it may generally be transl. 'to happen', although in this, as in any Engl. rendering, much of the quaint simplicity and naïveté of the original is lost. Cf. ii. 11, εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐβέλῃσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ βέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος (almost = *If he shall take it into his head*); i. 109, εἰ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. Ch. 10, εἰ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, and ch. 49.

(3) Joined with εἶναι, λέγειν, etc. it signifies *to mean*, as here. Cf. vi. 37, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

1. ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν. ἐλαύνειν is used both tr. and 38 intr. in the sense of *marching*; cf. supr. ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν, and ch. 182 n.

5. δν, with βουλοίμην.

6. γενόμενον, 'if granted'.

11. καταλαμβάνει. Very frequent in Hdt. as here, 'be-falls'; but in a good, as well as a bad sense; cf. iii. 139, τοῦτον κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις, and ch. 155. For other meanings cf. ch. 9 (31) n., and 211, 230.

13. ἡλικίης. Gen. of divided whole, frequently used of place, both metaphorically and literally, as in ch. 33, τῆς Χερσονήσου.

14. μοι. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίης. Cf. ch. 88, vi. 94, Μαρδόνιον παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, and v. 75, παραλυομένου τοῦ ἐτέρου σο. τῆς στρατηγίης. The metaphor is from unyoking an animal.

16. μελεδωνός. See ch. 31 n.

17. καὶ πρήξας...ὀπίσω. Larcher compares the prayer of Chryses, II. i. 18, 19.

2. ἀνθρώπει, a term of contempt. Cf. viii. 125.

action; cf. ch. 40, 83, 158, 218, etc. So, where we use the Perf., the Greeks sometimes employ another tense, i.e. the Aor. The point of view from which they regard the action is different from ours. *They* view it as a single act in the past, 'I met', 'I heard': *we* think of the present result rather than the past action, 'I have met', i.e. I remember meeting; 'I have heard', i.e. I am informed.

We may notice three special types of this usage:—

(1) Where the action takes place in the *immediate past*; e.g. *συνέμικα, ἐξείνισας*, ch. 158, *ἐτολμήσατε*. In many cases of this sort the Aor. may be translated by an Engl. Pres., and is then called a *momentary* Aor.; e.g. ch. 39, *ἐτράπευ, ἐτόλμησας*. Cf. *ἦσθην, ἐπήνεσα, κ.τ.λ.*

(2) In expressions referring to an indefinite past; such as ch. 85, *ἤδη ἤκουσα*. II. 148, *ἤδη ἶδον*. In Soph. Aj. 1142 foll. *ἶδον* and *ὄπωπα* are however both used in this same sense.

(3) When the action is described as preceding some other action, e.g. ch. 39, *ὡς ὑπεκρίνατο, ἐκέλευε*. 193, *ὡς ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἄνεμος, ...ἐπλεον*, 'had answered', 'had ceased'.

The difference really lies rather in the mode of viewing the action than in the mere form of expression.

8. *συμβάλλεσθαι*, to contribute; cf. viii. 61, *γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι*. Cf. the use, ch. 24 (1).

12. *τὰς τετρακοσίας κ.τ.λ.* The article is used throughout, the reference being to a *definite* amount previously mentioned, and its parts.

15. *ἀπαρτιλογία*. 'A round sum' (*ἀπαρτί*, completely, and *λόγος*, calculation).

16. *κίκτησο*, 'continue to possess'; *ἐκτήσας*, 'you acquired'.

17. *ἐπίστασο*. 'Know how to', i.e. have the sense to. Cf. iii. 15, *εἰ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν*, and Xen. Mem. iii. 9, 4 (quoted by Schweig.), *τὸν τὰ ἀσχερὰ εἰδὸτα εὐλαβεῖσθαι*.

τοιούτους, 'such as you are at present'. Taking its meaning from the context, and often to be explained by some preceding word or sentence.

19. *ἐς χρόνον*. Cf. iii. 72, and ix. 89, *οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει. ἐς χρόνον*, 'hereafter', is peculiar to Hdt., though we have *eis πάντα χρόνον*, Aesch. Eum. 763.

3. λίμνην. This salt lake has been identified; the river Lycus 30 still flows in a deep chasm, though no longer arched over (R.).

6. διδ...κη. διὰ with the gen. frequently expresses an interval (of time or place); cf. ch. 198, also i. 179, διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων, at intervals of 30 layers; Thucyd. iii. 21, διὰ δέκα ἐπάλξεων, and the common διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ, δι' ὀλίγον, διὰ μακροῦ. As the original meaning of διὰ is *through*, this idiom has plainly arisen from regarding the interval as space to be *passed through*, before the point in question is reached. Below, in διὰ γραμμάτων, the meaning *through* has developed into that of the medium or instrument.

7. ὥς...κη. Modifying πέντε: 'about five, I should say'.

ἀναφαίνόμενος. Reappearing. Cf. ἀναβλέπειν, ἀναβιοῦν to recover one's sight, one's life.

8. καὶ οὗτος. As well as the Catarrectes.

12. καταμηνύει. In Attic usually 'to inform against'.

4. ἐπὶ Καρίης, 'towards Caria', ἐς Σάρδεις, 'to (into) Sardis'. 31

5. τῇ καί. καί, here untranslatable, is idiomatically used to introduce a further detail; cf. ch. 112, τῶν καὶ ἐνί.

8. μέλι ποιῶσι. Cf. iv. 194, the description of the Libyan Gyzantes, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῶ δ' ἐτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιέειν. Honey, combs and all, is manufactured at the present day in America; that of Callatebus was possibly a less close imitation, perhaps resembling the Swiss.

9. πλατάνιστον. 'The plane trees of this district are magnificent' (R.).

10. μελεδωνῶ. Predicative. Att. ἐπιμελητής. ἀνδρὶ ἀθάνατῳ, one of the Immortal band, for whom see ch. 83; or possibly (with Stein) a guardian, whose successor was appointed before his death, on the analogy of the 'Immortal' warriors.

12. τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ δόρυ, 'the capital of Lydia'.

3. γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. As tokens of submission. Abicht 32 quotes Arist., Rhet. ii. 23, τὸ δίδόναι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ δουλεύειν ἐστὶ. Similar demands on the part of Darius had been refused by the Scythian king (iv. 126), but complied with by Amyntas of Macedonia. The reason why Athens and Sparta were excepted is given ch. 133.

4. *πλήν*. Here a conjunction; cf. ch. 84.

5. *ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν*. Hdt. uses both acc. and dat. with *ἐπὶ*, to express the object or end; the acc. however is found after verbs of motion only, only the dat. with abstract nouns. Cf. III. 14, *ἐξέπεμπε τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπ' ὄδω*, and infra ch. 193, *εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον*, whereas we find in I. 68, *ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνέυρηται*. IV. 164, *τοὺς δὲ ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ*. V. 6, *πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ*. Infra ch. 146, *ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον*.

6. *τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ*. This adverbial dat., *ἄλλῃ*, or *τῇ ἄλλῃ*, is used by Hdt. with verbs of motion, as here, as well as of rest, and means, (1) 'in other ways', VI. 21, *δῆλον ἐποίησαν...τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ κ....* (2) 'in other places', II. 36, *τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δέ....* (3) 'in other directions', ch. 25, *ἄλλα ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντα*. Hence, (4) 'to other places', as here, and I. 1, *τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος*. Cf. III. 61.

πάντῃ. An anomalous form, from analogy to the instrumentals *κῇ*, *δκῇ*, *πολλαχῇ*, etc.

9. *πάγχυ*. Att. *πάνυ*, 'He fully expected'. Cf. I. 31, *δοκῶν πάγχυ οἴσεσθαι*. III. 157, *πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες*.

33 9. *στρατηγοῦ*. Predicative; 'during the command of'.

10. *Ἀρταύκτην*. Artayktes, whose end is recounted IX. 116—120, is there described as *ἀνὴρ δεινὸς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος*. Sestos was taken by the Athenians after Mycale, when the Peloponnesian fleet had retired home.

11. *διεπασσάλευσαι*. Cf. Ar. Eq. 371, *διαπατταλευθήσει χαμαί*, where the threat is taken from the notion of stretching out a hide for tanning. *δια* gives the notion of expansion; cf. Lat. *diirectus*. The subject must be supplied from *Ἀθηναίων*.

12. *Πρωτεσίλω*. Protesilaus of Thessaly, the first of the Greeks to set foot on Trojan soil, was immediately slain by Hector, according to prophecy, II. II. 695 seqq. The subject is treated by Wordsworth in his *Laodamia*.

34 1. *ὀρμώμενοι*. Cf. ch. 22 note.

✕ 2. *τοιοῖ προσκέτερο*, sc. *γεφυρώσαι*. Cf. ch. 36, where the antecedent is expressed.

τὴν μὲν, sc. *γέφυραν*, supplied from *ἐγεφύρουν*. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 68, *λιπὸδεσμος σχεδία*.

*passive in sense for the
of τῶν μὲν & its compounds -*

4. ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. Cf. I. 26, ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε πόλιος κ. τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. This constr. of a singular verb with a pl. subject (not neuter) is known as the 'schema Pindaricum', though rare in Pindar; it is usually found where (as here) the subject follows. Cf. Pl. Euthyd. 302 c, ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ βωμοί....Pind. P. x. 71, ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κείται πατρώϊαι κεδναὶ πολλῶν κυβερνάσιες. Eur. Ion 1146, ἐνῆν δ' ὕφανται γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ' ὕφαλ. Hdt. often uses a different constr. in expressing measurements, making the verb agree with a predicate in the pl., when the subj. is sing. Cf. I. 93, ἡ μὲν περίοδος εἰσι στάδιοι ἑξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα. III. 60, τὸ μήκος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι. IV. 85 etc.

6. ἐπιγενόμενος. Frequently of sudden action, especially of some natural phenomenon; cf. VIII. 13, πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε κ. τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο.

ἐκείνα πάντα. 'The whole work.'

3. ἐπικέσθαι: cf. ch. 9 (4) n. This verb (to reach, attain 35 to) usually takes a gen.; here, however, ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι=to visit with the scourge, i.e. to scourge; hence an acc. of the direct object follows, together with a cognate acc. πληγάς. In the similar usage, Soph. O. T. 809, μέσον κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισι μου καθίκετο, the retention of the gen. gives greater vividness and vehemence. The acc. there is of the 'part affected' (Jebb).

Blakesley, on the contrary, takes πληγάς as subject to ἐπικέσθαι: in this case, μάστιγι would be an instrumental closely joined with πληγάς, like Pindar's ἄρματι νίκαν, 'victory won by a chariot', P. VII. 17.

5. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, cf. ch. 55 (15) n. 'Nay, I have even heard' (R.). ἤδη seems here to have the meaning of 'nay more' or 'actually', introducing a climax: the use of *etiam* (primarily, 'even now') for 'further' or 'even' is parallel. Cf. II. 148, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἶδον λόγου μέγῳ (which I saw with my own eyes and know to be beyond description); II. 175, ἤδη δὲ τινες λέγουσι ὥς.... (some go so far as to assert that); IV. 77, καὶ τοι τινα ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον (a story which Hdt. subsequently admits to be improbable). For the simpler meaning of ἤδη, marking a *fresh step*, from which this is derived, cf. ch. 184 n.

στιγμάς. Cf. Juv. x. 183,

*Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum
Credidit.*

7. δὴ ὦν. Similar to, but rather stronger than δ' ὦν, for which see ch. 9 (45) n. *Αὐγλόν, ὡς ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ τὸ βαρβαρὰ τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα.* Reckless insolence and contempt of things divine was the sin hateful above all others to the Greek mind.

11. ἦν τε... ἦν τε μή. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

13. ποταμῷ. "The Hellespont, perfectly landlocked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a 'river'; and it is from this notion of it that the epithets *πλατὺς, ἀπείρων* are applied to it in the Homeric poems." B.

The account of Xerxes' punishment of the Hellespont has been discredited by many. Blakesley believes that the story arose from a too literal interpretation of Aeschylus' language, *Persae* 745, seqq.

δοῖς Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δοῦλον ὧς, δεσμώμασιν
ἤλπισε σχήσειν βέοντα, Βόσπορον βόον θεοῦ,
καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ
θυγρὸς ὦν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν· πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν;

There seems, however, to be no sufficient reason for disbelieving the account of Hdt. Such childishness, as Grote shows (ch. 38), was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Cf. with this passage i. 189, where Cyrus punishes the river Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels! Plutarch (*De Ira Coerc.* 455) tells us that Xerxes also wrote a threatening letter to Mount Athos, and Juvenal supposes him to have extended his vengeance to the winds, x. 180,

In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis.

14. τῶν ἐπιστάτων, 'of the overseers'; probably Persians of high rank, as in the case of the canal, ch. 22.

36 2. ἡ ἀχαρίς τιμῇ. *τιμή*, 'office', but not without an idea of honour (cf. Lat. *honores*): cf. *χάρις ἀχαρίς*, so frequent in the *tragedians*, Aesch. *P.V.* 545; Ag. 1545; Eur. *I. T.* 565.

For the meaning of *ἀχαρις*, cf. ch. 190 note.

τῶς δὲ, sc. *γεφύρας*, cf. ch. 84 (2).

4. *πεντηκοντήρους κ. τριήρας*. The penteconter was a smaller and more old-fashioned ship than the trireme, having only one bank of 25 oars on each side. Penteconters were introduced by the Phocaeans, about the time of Cyrus (i. 163). Triremes were first built at Corinth, and were not largely used even by the Coreyreans and Sicilian tyrants, who then owned the largest fleets, till shortly before this time. Thucyd. i. 13, 14.

συνθέντες, explaining ὥδε. Cf. v. 16, *οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον—κρατέων ἕκαστος*. Infra ch. 127, *ἐπέσχε χώρην τοσάνδε—ἀρξάμενος*.

ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου, 'to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea' (R.). As Grote observes (ch. 38), the ships acted as the supports or piles of the bridge, which was built on the top of them, so as to form a continuous way.

Two bridges were thrown across the Hellespont, one being used for the transit of the army itself, the other for that of the sumpter beasts and camp-followers (ch. 55). The breadth of the channel may have differed at the different points; this would account for the larger number of ships in the bridge on the Euxine side: it is also possible that they had here to be moored nearer together, in order to resist the full force of the current flowing from the Euxine. Whether or not both kinds of ships were used for both bridges, we have no means of knowing. The whole passage is difficult, and indeed none of the explanations given can be considered quite convincing. That of Grote is the simpler, and therefore in some degree preferable, though Blakesley's gives perhaps the better sense, when well considered. See below.

7. *τοῦ μὲν...πόον*. The chief difficulty here is the expression *τοῦ Πόντου ἐπικαρκίας*, which has been variously explained:—

(1) According to Grote (followed by R.), 'the course of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, flowing out of the Euxine sea, is conceived by the historian as meeting that sea at right angles':

thus the ships also, each of which was moored facing down stream, would lie at right angles to the Euxine.

(2) B.'s view: 'at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont'. 'Owing to the shape of the channel, the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other': accordingly the ships, each of which followed the exact direction of the current, would not lie parallel, but at an angle to 'the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis'.

For the meaning of *ἐπικαρσίας*, 'cross', esp. 'at an angle to' (usually a right angle), cf. i. 180, the description of Babylon, which lies in a perfect square, and is divided into two rectangles by the river Euphrates: τὸ δὲ ἄστυ κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς *ὁρᾷας* τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς *ἐπικαρσίας* τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν *ἐχούσας*, i.e. all its streets are cut in straight lines, the cross ones leading to the river, as well as the rest (i.e. those parallel to it). There is no contrast here, as some suppose, between *ὁρᾷας* and *ἐπικαρσίας*, the cross streets being themselves straight.

Cf. also iv. 101, where, in the account of Scythia, also supposed to form a square, τὰ *ἐπικάρσια* means the coast line, as opposed to τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς μεσόγειαν φέροντα, to which these are at right angles.

The Gen. τοῦ Πόντου is a loose Gen. of connexion ('as regards the P.'), partly due to the antithetical τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

8. ἵνα...δπλων, 'in order to hold fast the tension of the cables'. The current would tend to bear the ships down toward the Aegean, and thus the cables passing across them would be kept tightly stretched.

ἀνακωχεύειν (Att. ἀνοκ-), lit. to hold back, is used of ships kept at anchor, infra ch. 100, 168, and of reining in a pair of horses, Soph. El. 732; hence metaphorically of a person, ix. 13, ἀνεκώχευε (sc. ἐωντὸν) θέλων εἰδέναι ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι. Cf. ἀνοκωχή, truce, restraining of hostilities.

The subject of *ἀνακωχεύει* is not expressed, and must be supplied from *συνθέτες*, i.e. ἡ συνθέσις, or some such word. Others prefer to take ὁ ῥόος as the subject, but the *ἀνακωχή* is produced by the whole arrangement; the stream itself does not directly influence the cables. Cf. the beginning of this chapter, also

ch. 34, where a noun is supplied from a verb; and for omission of the subject, where the sense is clear, cf. II. 47, VII. 85, IX. 8.

10. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. γεφύρας. Abl. Gen. after κατήκαν, 'from the one'. Cf. 46 (6) n. Others explain that two anchors were dropped from each ship, and tr. τῆς ἐτέρης, sc. χειρὸς, 'on the other side'.

11. ἔσωθεν, i.e. ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.

12. τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρας τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου. It does not seem necessary to bracket τῆς with Blakesley: there is a slight change of constr. in the second half of the sentence, but such variety is not unfrequent. In the first half, the direction, πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου, is expressed adverbially, so as to modify κατήκαν. In the second half, πρὸς ἐσπέρας τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου is adjectival and further specifies τῆς ἐτέρης. εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων in the one case corresponds to εἵρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα in the other.

Stein adopts the conjecture γεφύρου for εἵρου of the mss., but it is difficult to form an opinion without local knowledge.

One large anchor was dropped from every ship in either bridge, on the Euxine side to guard against the winds from that quarter, on the Aegean side for security against the S. and S.E. winds.

13. δίαπλους. Predic.: lit. 'a sailing out through', hence a passage through which to sail: similarly ὑπόφανσις, lit. a glimpse, comes to mean a narrow opening, 'a gap in the pent-conters'. The openings were probably left at points where the current was weak and the smaller ships were therefore used.

14. καὶ τριχού, 'in no fewer than three places' (R.). St. reads καὶ τριηρέων.

17. κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς, 'stretched from the shore'. Cf. the common δύν ἐκ τινος, to fasten to something.

δνοιοι ξυλνοιοι, instrumental, with στρεβλοῦντες.

21. καλλονή, 'quality'.

κατὰ λόγον, 'in proportion'.

25. κόσμῳ. Hdt. also uses the acc. VIII. 117, and σὺν κόσμῳ, VIII. 86.

τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, i.q. τῶν ἐντεταμένων ὀπλων.

31. ὑπερορῶντα. Almost always in a metaphorical sense.

- 37 2. τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν. Expl. by αἱ τε χυτοὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ.

χυτοί. 'Breakwaters', to prevent the mouths of the canal being filled up with sand and shingle. χῶμα is the more usual word.

3. ῥήγινς, here, 'surf'; in ch. 198, of the flow of the tide.

6. πεποιημένη ἡγγάλλετο. Attracted to go with the word in apposition instead of with the original subject. For the partic. cf. II. 121, ἀπηγγέλθη ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμένος, 23 (10) n.

8. ὠρμάτο. Cf. ch. 22 n. ὄρμ. οἱ dat. of person indirectly interested.

9. τήν...ἔδρην. A form of 'pregnant constr.' (i.e. in which two ideas are combined, as here those of motion and rest). The idea of motion in ἐκλιπὼν causes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. to be substituted for the natural ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. ch. 38, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα, and 230, ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. οἱ ἐκ Θρηίκης, ch. 106 etc.

It has been ascertained that no such eclipse was visible at this time in West Asia. It is possible that the annular eclipse of 478, visible at Sardis, was, in the minds of the Persians, associated with the disastrous expedition of Xerxes, and afterwards, through carelessness of statement, described as a premonitory sign.

10. αἰθρίης τε, sc. ἐούσης. For οὐτε—τε, see ch. 8 n.

12. μαθόντι, having remarked, taken it in. Cf. ch. 46, and 188, αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον.

ἐπιμαλὲς ἐγένετο. So I. 89, v. 12 etc.

13. τοὺς μάγους. The Magi were one of the Median tribes, I. 101. Among them divination and soothsaying were hereditary, though not in every member of the tribe, I. 108. On the death of the Persian Cambyses they had regained the sovereignty for the Medes, in the person of the False Smerdis. When Smerdis was slain by Darius, a general slaughter of the Magi had ensued. The race, however, was by no means exterminated. They are constantly mentioned afterwards as performing sacred rites, expounding dreams, omens, etc.

τὸ θεῖα. The use of the rel. pron. to introduce an indir. interrog., though rare in other authors, is very common in

Hdt.; cf. ch. 26, 148, vi. 124, and is also found in Homer; cf. II. ii. 365, γνώση ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

Θελεῖν, or **ἐθέλειν**, has, besides the ordinary use (to wish, or be willing), the foll. meanings in Hdt. :—

(1) *To be wont*; cf. viii. 60, οἰκῶτα βουλευομένοιαι...ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκῶτα...οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν. Cf. use of φιλέει ὁ θεός, ch. 10; also ch. 50, 157.

(2) A meaning still, in some cases, akin to the original one, to *wish*, or *choose*, but extended in use to impersonal objects, and even events, so that it may generally be transl. 'to happen', although in this, as in any Engl. rendering, much of the quaint simplicity and naïveté of the original is lost. Cf. ii. 11, εἰ ὧν δὴ ἐβελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ρέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος (almost = *If he shall take it into his head*); i. 109, εἰ θελήσει ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς. Ch. 10, εἰ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, and ch. 49.

(3) Joined with εἶναι, λέγειν, etc. it signifies *to mean*, as here. Cf. vi. 37, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

1. **ἐξήλυνε τὴν στρατιήν**. ἐλαύνειν is used both tr. and 38 intr. in the sense of marching; cf. supr. ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν, and ch. 182 n.

5. **δν**, with βουλομένην.

6. **γενόμενον**, 'if granted'.

11. **καταλαμβάνει**. Very frequent in Hdt. as here, 'be-falls'; but in a good, as well as a bad sense; cf. iii. 189, τοῦτον κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις, and ch. 155. For other meanings cf. ch. 9 (31) n., and 211, 230.

13. **ἡλικίης**. Gen. of divided whole, frequently used of place, both metaphorically and literally, as in ch. 33, τῆς Χερσονήσου.

14. **μοι**. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.

παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας. Cf. ch. 88, vi. 94, Μαρδόνιον παράλυσεν τῆς στρατηγίας, and v. 75, παραλυομένου τοῦ ἑτέρου σο. τῆς στρατηγίας. The metaphor is from unyoking an animal.

16. **μελεδωνός**. See ch. 31 n.

17. **καὶ πρήξας...ὁπίσω**. Larcher compares the prayer of Chryses, II. i. 18, 19.

2. **ἀνθρωπε**, a term of contempt. Cf. viii. 125.

3. ἐτόλμησας, *momentary aor.*: Eng. 'Do you dare?' Cf. ch. 29 (4), 46 (6).

6. πανοικίη. Cf. viii. 106 etc. Thucyd. uses πανοικισία. Cf. ch. 203, πανστρατή. i. 60, πανοπλίη. Aesch. Supp. 607, πανδημία. Hom. πασυνδίη or πασυνδίη. An 'Instrumental', expressing accompanying circumstances. So too αὐτῇ γυναικί, lit. with your wife herself, i.e. wife and all.

10. ἀνοιδέει, 'swells with anger'. Cf. iii. 76, 127, for the metaphorical use of οἰδέειν, οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων.

11. ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, i.e. χρυσά.

13. ἐπράπευ. For tense see ch. 29 (4) n. The metaphor from turning out of the right path is frequent in Greek, esp. in Pindar.

14. λαμβάνει. A fut. formed from analogy to the pres., λαμβάνω. So too aor. pass. ἐλάμβανον.

15. τοὺς τέσσαρας. See ch. 29 (12) n.

17. ζημιώσεται. For the Ionic use of Fut. Mid. with Pass. meaning, cf. ch. 159, 162, ἀρξομένους. v. 34, πολιορκησόμενοι. v. 35, ἀπαιρήσεσθαι.

For the story cf. iv. 84, where a similar request on the part of Oeobazus, before the Scythian campaign of Darius, was punished by the execution of all his three sons, after the prayer had been seemingly granted.

ὑπεκρίνατο. In Attic, ὑποκρίνεσθαι is limited to 'answering the chorus on the stage', i.e. acting, and meanings therefrom derived, e.g. to pretend, to exaggerate.

40 4. ἀναμίξ, not separated by intervals; for, as R. points out, the contingents of the several nations formed distinct corps. Cf. ch. 60—86, 210, ix. 32.

5. τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσει ἦσαν. 'In the point where the half of the number was turned' (B.).

6. διελέλειπτο. Cf. ch. 29 (4) n. A break had been made, i.e. there was a space.

11. Νισαῖοι καλεῖσθαι. The Nisaeen plain, which gave its name to this specially fine breed of horses, lies in Media. Cf. iii. 106.

12. ἐπὶ τοῦδε. Cf. ch. 83, ἐκάλεοντο Ἀθάνατοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε. So ch. 193, etc.

16. *ἄρμα Διός*. Διός probably means Ormuzd, the supreme Deity of the Persians, creator of all good, including the lesser gods and spirits of light, as well as the human race. Opposed to Ormuzd and his creatures stood Ahriman, god of darkness and evil, creator of the lesser gods and spirits of darkness, and of all things evil. (Spiegel.)

ἐπετέτακτο. 'Had been posted after', i.e. followed.

21. *ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων*. *ἄρμα* is used to mean (1) The chariot, Aesch. Pers. 190, *ἄρμασιν δ' ὑπο ζεύγυσιν αὐτῷ*. (2) The chariot with the horses yoked to it, as here. So Pindar, *ἄρμα τέθριππον*, frequently. (3) The yoked horses, the team, *ἄρμασιν ἐνδίδωσι κέντρον*, Eur. H. F. 881. *τρίπλων ἄρμα δαιμόνων*, i.e. three goddesses, Andr. 276.

παρεβήκει. Had taken up his stand beside him, i.e. stood.

22. *Ὀτάνειο*. Otanes, a Persian noble of high rank, had been one of the six who, with Darius at their head, overthrew the False Smerdis, III. 68. On surrendering all claims to the throne, Otanes and his house were pronounced by the other six to be free, alone of all the Persians. On state occasions, R. tells us, an attendant also stood in the chariot, to bear the royal parasol.

2. *μετεβαίνεσκε*. Notice the force of the prepositions; 41 'he used to get out and change into'. Iterative tenses in -σκον are Ionic, being found in Homer as well as Hdt. Gdw. § 30, 2, N. 1.

ὅπως μιν λόγος αἰρέει. Optative of indefinite frequency, cf. oh. 6 n. Lit. 'whenever reason persuaded him', i.e. whenever he felt inclined, so I. 132, IV. 127. *λόγος αἰρέει* is even more frequently followed by the acc. and infin. meaning, 'reason proves', i.e. 'it stands to reason that', II. 33, III. 45, VI. 124. In II. 43, we find *ὡς ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει*. Cp. Pl. Rep. 604, *ὅπη ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ βέλτιστα εἶχειν*.

3. *ἐς ἄρμαμαξαν*, a four wheeled, closed carriage, with curtains, generally used only by women and children. In one of these Themistocles was secretly conveyed to the Persian court, Plut. Them. xxvi. Paley compares Aesch. Pers. 1000, *ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς τροχλάτοισιν ἐπόμενοι*, and Ar. Ach. 68, *ἐσκηνημένοι ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν, μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι*.

6. *κατὰ νόμον*, in the usual manner, i.e. upwards.

ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη. *ἡ κάμηλος* is also used collectively, 'the camelry', I. 80.

8. *ἀπολελεγμένοι. μύριοι*. 'The Immortals', cf. ch. 83.

9. *οὗτος πέζος ἦν*. Cf. ch. 5, *παρενθήκην τήνδε*; ch. 22, and 95; also Dem. XIX. 409, *ταύτην ἡγήσω σωτηρίαν*, and Virg. Aen. VI. 129, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*. Cf. also the extended use of attraction with adjs., e.g. *ὁ πολὺς τοῦ βίου*, *ἡ πολλὴ τῆς λείας*.

10. *σαυρωτήρων*, spikes, by which the spear could be fixed in the ground; cf. II. x. 153, *ἔγχεα δέ σφιν | ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτήρας ἐλήλατο*. *στύραξ* and *οὐρίαχος* are synonymous with *σαυρωτήρ*.

14. *μῆλα*, sc. *χρύσεια*.

17. *καὶ δύο σταδίους*, 'as much as two stades'. Acc. of compass.

42 4. *Κάνης ὄρος*. A promontory, forming the southern point of the bay of Adramyttium (B.).

5. *τοῦ Ἀταρνίος*. The plain of Atarneus had been given to the Chians, in return for their surrender to the Persians of the rebel Pactyas, I. 160.

Καρίην. Site unknown.

6. *Θήβη*. Famous in the Iliad as the home of Andromache and Chryses, *Θήβη ὑψίπυλος*. II. VI. 416.

Ἀδραμύττειον. The Adramyttium of Acts XXVII. 2, said to have been founded by and called after the son of a Lydian king. The town was given to the expelled Delians by Pharnaces in 423, Thucyd. V. 1.

7. *Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα*. Antandro of the present day: inhabited by Aeolians in the time of Thucydides, VIII. 108, though called a town of the Leleges by Alcæus. It is said by Aristotle to have been held by Cimmerians for 100 years, R. vol. I. p. 358.

8. *Ἴδην*. *Ἴδῃ πολυπύδαξ* of the Iliad. Hdt.'s description of the route is not clear, and R. thinks he cannot refer to the real Ida.

10. *βρονταί*. Peals of thunder.

11. *πρηστῆρες*. Storms with lightning, *not* the particular phenomenon described by Lucretius, VI. 423 seqq.

ἐπισπέντουσι καὶ δειφθεῖραν. Cf. ch. 15, VIII. 5. Hdt. is

fond of coupling different tenses, in order to make the narrative more graphic. The action of the verb in the past tense is slurred over, while attention is fixed on that in the present. In ch. 15, ἀνὰ—ἔδραμε depicts the instantaneous start, while πέμπει is the more important act on which the narrator dwells.

αὐτοῦ ταύτη. Very frequent in Hdt.

2. δὲ—πινόμενος. τὸ-ρέεθρ. acc. of respect, lit. 'as to its 43 stream'. πινόμενος with both the verbs. Cf. ch. 21, also ch. 58, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, and 196, μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον πινόμενος. Also without acc., ch. 127, 108.

If it were not for the examples cited, we might be tempted to take ρέεθρ. as direct object of ἐπέλιπε, translating 'channel' as in ch. 130, and comparing II. 25, τῶν δμβρων ἐπιλειποντων αὐτοῦς, i.e. τ. ποταμούς.

5. ἀποχρᾶν (with which cf. ἀντιχρᾶν, ἐκχρᾶν) is also used impersonally, both in the Active, ch. 148, VIII. 130, and Middle, VII. 14.

The stream of the Scamander is reduced to about three feet of water in the dry season, and this was no doubt soon fouled by the animals' feet.

6. δὴ, marks the *epanalepsis*, i.e. 'taking up again' of the thread of the sentence. ὡς ἀπικ. Ἐλέξης is a repetition of ἀπικομένου τ. στρ., characteristic of the easy natural style of Hdt.

7. τὸ Πιέργαμον. Πιέργαμος is fem. in Homer; the tragedians use the neuter pl. Πιέργαμα.

9. ἐκείνων ἕκαστα. The several details. Cf. ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ch. 34 (6).

τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ. Alexander likewise sacrificed to the Ilian Athene. Such an act seems strange in Xerxes, on his way to outrage the gods of Greece and burn their temples; but consistency was not one of his characteristics, and indeed irreligion and superstition are not unfrequently united in the same person.

11. φόβος...ἐνέπεσε. Cf. ch. 10, ἐπεὶ σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλην ἢ βροντήν. Also IV. 203, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπεσε.

13. 'Ροίτιον, 'Οφρύνειον, Δάρδανος. "Places of small importance, on or near the coast" (R.).

15. Γέργιθος Τευκρῶς, called in v. 122, 'the remnant of the ancient Teucrians'.

44 4. προσέδρη. In iv. 88 we hear that a picture was painted of Darius on a throne of state, watching his troops cross the Bosphorus, in the Scythian expedition.

7. ἡμέρη. Not found in good Attic prose.

46 1. μαθῶν is repeated in *φρασθεῖς*. Cf. ch. 37 (12). See ch. 43 (6) n.

6. ἀλλήλων. Ablative-Genitive, 'from each other'. Cf. ch. 36 (10). The Gen. in Greek is, like the Dat., a 'syncretic' case, i. e. it is used to express the meanings proper to two separate cases, the Gen. and Abl.

ἐργάσαιο...πρότερον. Cf. Ar. Av. 24, οὐ ταῦτα κρώζει νῦν τε καὶ τότε. ἐργάσαιο is a *momentary aorist*.

7. μακαρίσας γάρ. This 'expegegetic γάρ' is untranslatable in English; the γάρ below, so frequent in dialogue, implies the ellipse of *yes*, or a concession of some sort.

8. ἐσῆλθέ με κατοικεῖσθαι. So viii. 137; also with the dat. i. 86, iii. 14. ἐσιέναι is used in the same way.

λογισάμενον, with ὥς εἴη.

10. εἰ—γε, 'since'; hence, the clause being stated as a fact, not a supposition, οὐδεῖς not μηδεῖς follows.

οὐ is regularly found after εἰ in the following cases:

(1) Where εἰ is interrogative (= 'whether').

(a) in single interrogations, e.g. i. 90, εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται.

(b) in double interrog., e.g. iv. 127, γνώσεσθε εἴτε ὑμῶν μαχασόμεθα εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχασ. Ch. 16, εἰ ἐμὲ μὲν οὐ—σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει.

(2) Where εἰ is causal, as here (=since).

(3) Where οὐ is closely joined to another word, with which it forms one idea, e.g. ch. 10 (91) εἰ—οὐκ ἐθελήσεις. vi. 9, εἰ—οὐ ποιήσουσι. So Pl. Apol. 25 B, ἐάν τε οὐ φῆτε ἐάν τε φῆτε.

(4) When two or more clauses in the indicative, introduced by μὲν and δέ, depend upon a single εἰ preceding, they have

their separate constructions independently of the *εἰ*, which affects them only as a whole, and *οὐ* is almost invariably found: e.g. ch. 9, *δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα εἰ Σάκας μὲν... ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα... ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν... δούλους ἔχομεν*, "Ἕλληνας δὲ οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα. Shilleto on Thucyd. i. 121. Dem. xv. 197, 9. Gdw. § 47, 3 N. N.B. Where the optat. is used, *μή* is found.

12. *τούτου*, with *οἰκτρότερα*.

παρὰ τὴν ζόην. Cf. II. 121, *παρὰ τὴν πόνον*. Pl. Legg. 733 A, *παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα*.

πεπόνθαμεν. *πεπονθέναι*, lit. 'to have experienced', often signifies to *have* a feeling, quality, liability or characteristic; cf. I. 148, *πεπόνθασι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο*, and Ar. Eq. 187, *ὅσον πέπονθας ἀγαθὸν ἐς τὰ πράγματα*, 'what an advantage you have for a political life!'

13. *οὐδεὶς οὕτω... εὐδαίμων τῷ*. *ὥς* or *ὥστε* are frequently replaced by the rel. pron. in Hdt. For order cf. VIII. 15, *νέας οὕτω σφι δόλγας λυμάλνεσθαι*. IX. 45, *οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον*, also *infra* ch. 148.

15. *παραστήσεται*, 'it will occur'; cf. Thucyd. iv. 95, *ταῦτα παραστή δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν ὥς...* Dem. III. 28, *οὐχὶ παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν*.

καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ. 'Ay, not once only.'

21. *γέγονε*, 'proves'.

22. *ἐν αὐτῷ*, 'herein'. Cf. ch. 8 (42), 50 (11), *ἐν αὐτοῖσι*. In *γλυκὴν γεύσας τ. αἰῶνα* the emphasis lies on the adj., 'by giving a taste of sweetness, sufficient only to cause regret'. Cf. Heb. vi. 5, *καλὸν γευσάμενους θεοῦ ῥῆμα*. For the sentiment, cf. Solon's speech to Croesus, I. 32, *πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας δόλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε (ὑποδέξας, 'having given a glimpse of')*; also the letter of Amasis to Polycrates, III. 40, and the previous words of Artabanus himself, ch. 10. The whole work of Hdt. is pervaded by an idea of divine *φρόνος*, bringing ruin not only on the impious (as Xerxes), and their descendants (cf. VII. 137), but also on the notably prosperous (as Polycrates), those predestined by fate (as Candanes, I. 8), and any who unwittingly contravene their destiny (as Mucerrinus of Egypt, II. 133). See R. vol. I. p. 91.

- 47 5. *μηδὲ κακῶν...χρῶσι*. This dread of ill-omened speech was essentially characteristic of the Greeks, though here, as in many other instances, Hdt. puts a Greek sentiment in the mouth of a foreigner. Cf. ch. 51, 53.

10. *ἀτρεκέως*. A favourite word of Hdt.; cf. ch. 10 (78), viii. 8. The original meaning of *ἀτρεκής* seems to be 'without turning', 'unflinching', cogn. w. *τρέπω*. Cf. Pind. N. iii. 41, *ἀτρεκίῃ ποδί*. v. 17, *φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής*. Hence the meaning of confidence, certainty, exactitude.

- 48 1. *δαιμόνι ἀνδρῶν*. ὁ δαιμόνι implies surprise mingled with vexation, scorn, or pity, as the case may be; cf. iv. 126, viii. 84. In the Iliad and Odyssey it is used in every variety of reproof; by angry Odysseus to the fleeing Greeks (II. ii. 200), by contemptuous Diomed to Agamemnon (ix. 40), by Andromache in tender remonstrance to Hector (vi. 407). Cf. too the use in Aristophanes; e.g. Av. 1638, ὁ δαιμόνι' ἀνθρώπων, Πόσειδον, ποῖ φέρει;

In Pl. also the sense varies with the speaker's feelings, whose surprise is sometimes roused not by the person addressed so much as by some step in the argument. See Prof. Campbell, Theaet. App. E.

2. *κοῖτα*. Incredulous.

5. *τοῦ ἡμετέρου*. Gen. of comparison; so infra, *τοῦ ἐκείνων*.

6. *λείψεσθαι*. Cf. ch. 8 n.

9. *τὴν ταχίστην*, sc. *ὁδόν*. Cf. ch. 62 (1) n.

ἀν τις ποιοῖτο. The Greeks use an active constr. with *τις* in cases where the subject is not clearly conceived; in English the passive would be found, the agent not expressed. 'Another army could be raised.' In viii. 109 *τις* (= *ἡμεῖς*) simply lightens and varies the constr.; cf. ix. 45, *μνησθῆναι τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ*, where *τινα* is more delicate and less direct than *ὑμέας*. Cf. also infr. ch. 102, 237. In Soph. Ant. 751, *θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινὰ*, *τινὰ* is purposely obscure; for Haemon, while seeming to threaten, really refers to his own death. In Ar. the word is often used ironically, in threats, etc. for *σύ*. Cf. Ran. 554, *δώσει τις δίκην*, also Soph. Aj. 1138.

- 49 2. *στρατὸν τοῦτον*, cf. ch. 130, n. on *ποταμῷ τούτῳ*.

ὅστις γε... ἔχα=εἰ τις... ἔχει. Cf. Gdw. § 61, 4.

9. φερέγγυος, lit. 'giving (i.e. able to give) surety', hence trustworthy, capable.

10. ἕνα αὐτόν, i.q. ἕνα μόνον. Cf. v. 85, ἐκ πάντων ἕνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον, and infra ch. 130, ἦδε αὐτῇ, this only.

12. οὐκ ἂν δῆ, 'supposing then that—not'. Cf. 10 (29) n.

13. αἱ συμφοραὶ... ἄρχουσι. Cf. i. 32, πᾶν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ, the words of Solon to Croesus.

15. τῶν δύο. δυνῶν is also found, iii. 131, and δυοῖσι, ch. 104. For καὶ δῆ cf. ch. 186 n.

16. ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. Cf. ch. 102, ἔρχομαι λέξων, always referring to what immediately follows. I come about to tell of, 'I am here on the point of relating'.

γῇ δὲ πολέμῃ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 792, αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῇ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει... κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερβόλλους ἄγαν.

17. εἰ ἐθέλει, 'if it happens that'. Cf. ch. 37 (13) n.

19. τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, 'lured blindly further and further'. The Voice is probably Middle. Xerxes will deceive himself into the foolhardiness of advancing further and further from his supplies. For this meaning of κλέπτειν cf. Pl. Rep. 413 B, κλαπέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ἢ γοητευθέντες, where, however, the Voice is, of course, Pass.; Ar. Rhet. iii. 7, 5.

20. εὐπρηξίης... πληθώρα, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1331, τὸ μὲν εὖ πρᾶσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν | πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν.

22. τὴν χώραν, 'the distance', i.e. between the army and Asia, or the stores.

23. εἰ βουλευόμενος... εἴη. A similar axiom is expressed by Hermocrates, Thucyd. vi. 34, whose counsel is: τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν τοὺς ἐπώντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ δεικνυσθαι, τὸ δ' ἡδὴ τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας (νομίζειν).

5. ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφ. Cf. ch. 23 (6) n. In the partic. 50 ἐπὶ expresses *succession*, 'each fresh matter that comes before you'. Cf. ch. 2 (11).

6. τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, 'to calculate all chances equally', i.e. to give equal weight to every possibility, in your deliberations.

7. κρέσσον δὲ... μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 143, αἰρετώτερα—μᾶλλον

ἤ. ix. 7, κερδαλεώτερον...μᾶλλον ἤπερ. Pleonasms are frequent in Hdt., due partly to his love of clearness, partly to the colloquial flow of his narrative. On the other hand, however, μᾶλλον is sometimes omitted before ἤ, even when there is no comparative. Cf. iii. 40, βούλομαι οὐτω διαφέρειν...ἢ εὐτυχέειν. iv. 26, ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν...ἤπερ Ἀθηναίους.

9. μηδαμᾶ. Adv. neut. pl. fr. μηδαμός. Cf. ch. 83 (8) n.

10. τὸ βέβαιον, the one safe and reasonable course.

11. ἐν αὐτοῖσι, i.e. ἀλέγεις ἐρίζων, i.q. τοῦτοις. Cf. ch. 8.

12. ἐπ' ἰσῆς, sc. ἐπ' ἰσῆς μοίρης or τύχης. Cf. ch. 135, ἐξ ἰσου.

The sense is: If you cannot point out the one infallible course, as I believe you cannot, your own criticisms are no less liable to error than the counsels which you decrie. *It was this now as usual basis*

15. ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν (cf. ch. 157, and viii. 60 § 3), rather stronger than ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

17. οὐ μάλα, a modified form of οὐ, 'not—on the whole'. Cf. i. 93.

21. ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον, not 'had other councillors', but 'others, councillors', i.e. 'had been counselled by others'. Cf. Soph. O. T. 7, δικαίων μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων...ἄλλον ἀκούειν (others, messengers). This use of ἄλλος is very idiomatic, and common in enumerations; cf. Ph. 38, ἄλλα ῥάκη (rags beside); Xen. An. i. 5, οὐ...χέρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον (nor yet tree); also ch. 164, and 16 (35) n.

τοιούτους, cf. ch. 29.

22. νῦν δέ, 'as it is'; cf. ch. 139.

23. κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες. Cf. ch. 10 (84) n.; Thucyd. iv. 85, vi. 13. *Lezardière danger*.

24. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα...καταίρεσθαι, 'mighty powers must be won by mighty ventures'; cf. viii. 82, τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι, and iv. 137, τῆς Δαρείου δυνάμους καταρρεθείσης etc. The meaning *conquer* passes here into *win*, or *acquire*.

25. ὁμοιούμενοι. We follow their example in making the expedition, *not* in making it at a certain season.

26. ὥρην τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστην, 'during the fairest season of the year'. ὥρη (cogn. with *year*) has in Hdt. the senses of 'fit time' (viii. 19), 'time of day' (viii. 14), 'time of year' or *season* (here and viii. 12), 'quarter of the heavens' (ii. 26). In the

restricted sense of *hour* it is never found, 'the 12 hours of the day' being expressed by 'τὰ δωδέκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης' (II. 109).

29. *ἄχαρι*. Cf. ch. 190 n.

30. *τοῦτο μὲν*. Cf. ch. 6 n.

31. *ἐπιβέβωμεν...ἔθνος*. *ἐπιβαίνω*, usually foll. by a *gen.* of the place, is found with an *acc.* of place, II. xiv. 226; of person, Soph. Aj. 137. The word is remarkable for its wide metaphorical use with abstract nouns, meaning 'to indulge in', 'keep to', etc.: e.g. *ἐπ' ἀναιδείης*, Od. xxii. 424. *ἐδφροσύνης*, xxiii. 52. *εὐσεβίας*, Soph. O. C. 189. *δόξης*, Ph. 1463.

32. *ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας...οὐ νομάδας*, in contrast to the Scythians. Cf. iv. 97, *ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένων φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκομένη*.

3. *σὺ δέ*. For 'δέ in apodosis' (esp. common with a pers. 51 or demonstr. pron.), i.e. δέ introducing the second and *principal* clause of a sentence, and thus giving special emphasis to it, cf. chs. 103, 159, 188. The constr. is common in Homer and Hdt. but comparatively rare in Attic prose.

4. *πλεῖστα λόγον ἐκτείνει*. Cf. *μείζον' ἐκτενῶ λόγον*, Soph. Tr. 679; *μήκος ἐκτείνειν λόγου*, Aesch. Eum. 201.

6. *κατεστρέψατο...εἶναι*. Infinitive expressing result. In Attic we should expect *ὥστε*, or else the omission of the Infin. Cf. v. 108, *Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι*. Cf. similar infinitive, expressing purpose, ch. 154, *ἀπεδέχθη εἶναι Ἰππαρχος*. In these cases the distinction between purpose and result is exceedingly slight. Cf. Gdw. § 97, N. 2 and 3.

8. *ἐπὶ τοῖς πατέρας*. Cf. viii. 22, the argument of Themistocles. For the sentiment cf. ch. 47 note.

15. *δηλώσασθαι*. Not found in Attic prose. *ἡννῆ, ἰννῆ*

16. *ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῖ*. Cf. Od. xii. 218, *ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ βάλλειν*.

17. *πάν*, 'in every case'.

4. *τῶν ἔχομεν...τῶν σὺ*. The second *τῶν* depends on *γνώμα* 52 ('of which facts'). Stein compares II. 51, *ἰρὸν τινα λόγον—τὰ δὲ δῆλωται*. Cf. also ch. 16, *αὶ δὲ ψιες...τά*.

γνώμα, 'token', 'test', 'proof'. Substantives in *-μα* express the result of the action of the cognate verb, those in *-σις* the action itself. *γνώμα* is that which is known or recognised, the

token; γνώσις 'finding out', recognition. Cf. πράγμα and πράξις, ποίημα and ποίησις, βήμα and βήσις etc.

7. διαφθεῖραι κ. περιποιῆσαι, 'for saving or destroying'. In this construction we see clearly the original meaning of the Infinitive, a Dat., expressing tendency.

Notice the καὶ where we should use 'or': cf. ch. 8 (8) n. and Thucyd. II. 35, ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύεσθαι εὐ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι.

8. ἐνδωκαν. Cf. III. 51, Περικλῆς μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλευόμενος οὐδέν.

11. χρή. The word is here used in its special sense, to express *natural fitness*, rather than actual *duty* or *necessity*, (δεῖ). Cf. ch. 9 (30) fol., where both δεῖ and χρή are used: the former, of the political necessity for war; the latter, of the natural prompting of kinship. See also ch. 50 (18), where χρή expresses the natural capacity of man, ἀνθρώπων ἔντα κῶς χρή κ.τ.λ. Again, Aesch. Ag. 1556, θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή, πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα φιλήσει, of the natural affection of a daughter; ib. 342, πορθεῖν ἄ μὴ χρή, of impiety, transgression of universal laws.

53 2. δεύτερα, i.q. ἔπειτα. Cf. ch. 148.

4. τῶνδ'...χρηζέων. Cf. ch. 38, where the acc. is used. For the double Gen. cf. III. 157, τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων. ἄνδρας...ἄξια explains τῶνδε.

7. ἀλλ', 'nay'. For ἀλλὰ with Imper. cf. ch. 140, and VIII. 79, ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σήμερον.

9. ξυγόν. Att. κοινόν. Both forms are used by Hdt.; the former is common in Homer, and is found in Aesch. and Soph. ἀγαθόν. Predicative.

11. ἐντεταμένως. Cf. VIII. 128, ἐντεταμένως προσέειπε, and συνεταμένως, common in Plato. ἐντετασθαι, lit. 'to be tightly strung', of a bow or cable, is used metaphorically of the body or mind, like our 'braced up'. For the opposite metaphor 'relaxed', cf. Dem. XIX. 411, ἐκλελίσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ παθεῖν ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινὰ, and Isocr. 419, ἐκλελυμένως.

γάρ. Cf. ch. 46 (7) n.

13. οὐ μὴ ἀντιστή. A strong future. Gdw. § 86.

15. λελόγχασι. Attic εἰλόχασι. Abicht quotes Dinarch. in Dem. 64, τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰλόχασι. The phrase

expresses the Greek belief that every deity presided over some special spot: whether this belief was shared by the Persians is a matter of uncertainty.

8. εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. Mithra, god of the Rising Sun, 54 was one of the most important of the lesser gods of good; he seems to have been sometimes identified with the Sun-god, and sometimes distinguished from him. Cf. ch. 223, where Xerxes pours libations at the moment of sunrise, and III. 84, where the choice of a monarch is fixed for that time. Mithra must not be confused with the goddess 'Mitra' (mentioned I. 131, by an error of Hdt.), who was never worshipped in Persia under that name.

9. παύσει καταστρέψασθαι. This constr. of παύειν with Infin., meaning 'to prevent', is very rare in Att., though found Pl. Rep. 416 c, μήτε τοὺς φύλακας ὡς ἀρίστους εἶναι παύσει. Distinguish fr. the common constr. with a participle, meaning 'to stop'; cf. v. 23, τὸν ἄνδρα παύσον ταῦτα ποιεῖντα.

10. πρότερον ἢ γένηται. Cf. ch. 8 (33) n.

13. δκινάκην, a short straight dagger. See Rich, Dict. R. G. Antiq. s. v.

14. ἀνατιθεῖς. ἀνατίθεναι, lit. to set up, erect (in a temple), thence generally, to dedicate, offer; ἀνάθημα, a votive offering. Another common meaning, found in Hdt., is 'to ascribe, impute'; cf. II. 135, μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀν.... The use of ἀνατίθεσθαι, 'to retract', esp. common in Pl., is not found in Hdt.

3. πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου. Ch. 20 (17) n.

5. ἡ θεραπετῆ. 'Abstract for concrete'; cf. Lat. *servitium*, for *servi*.

6. πρῶτα. Cf. δεύτερα ch. 53, οὐδαμὰ 83, ὁμοῖα 118.

οἱ μύριοι II. The Immortals.

15. ἥδη δὲ ἤκουσα. Cf. ch. 35 n. Hdt. thinks this latter account, if not improbable, at least surprising.

2. ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Cf. ch. 22 (6) n.

5. ἀλινύσας. Cf. I. 67, VIII. 71. A poetical word meaning 'to take a rest'; cf. Aesch. P. V. 53, 528. It is used by Pindar to express the motionlessness of statues, Nem. v. 2.

7. εἰδόμενος. Also Epic and poetical. Cf. II. xx. 81, τῷ εἰσάδμενος, and Pind. Nem. x. 15, οἱ δὲ ψιν εἰδόμενος.

9. ἀνάστατον. The word means:—

(1) Driven from house and home; cf. ch. 118, ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν.

(2) Dispeopled, deserted, of a land forsaken by its inhabitants; cf. ix. 106 (on the proposal of the Peloponnesians to settle the Ionians of Asia Minor in Greece proper), Ἀθηναίοισι οὐκ ἐδόκει Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον: hence, destroyed in war, overthrown, as here.

(3) In confusion; cf. i. 106, τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὄβριος καὶ δολιγίας ἀνάστατα ἦν.

- 57 6. ἀγαυρότατα. γαῦρος is the commoner form, used of a fiery bull, Hes. Theog. 832; of a frolicsome girl, Theocr. xi. 21, μύσχω γαυροτέρα; expressing buoyancy, exuberance of spirit or pride. In Ar. Ran. 282 it is applied to Heracles.

7. περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. Cf. viii. 74, περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἥδη δρόμον θέοντες. Also ib. 102, 140, and esp. II. xxii. 161, the pursuit of Hector by Achilles:

ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

For περὶ τινος, of the prize contested, cf. viii. 26.

- 58 8. ἔω τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πλέων = ἐκπλώσαντες τ. Ἑλ., cf. ch. 29 (4) n.

6. Σαρπηδονίης ἀκρῆς. Cape Grenea. On starting from Sestus, the fleet and army would move respectively in a S.W. and N.E. direction, though, after gaining Elaeus, the former would sail almost due north for Sarpædon.

τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεύμενος. Hdt., like Thucyd., is fond of the periphrasis with ποιεῖσθαι. Cf. below τὴν ὁδὸν, τὴν ἔλασιν (ch. 37), κοῖτον (17), βουλὴν (viii. 40) ποιεῖσθαι.

8. πρὸς...ἀνατολὰς. So frequently, cf. iv. 40, πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίον ἀνατέλλοντα, and the Homeric πρὸς ἡῷ τ' ἡέλιόν τε.

10. Ἑλλης τόφον. Probably near Pactya; according to one legend, the scene of Helle's death, the more general tradition being that she fell into the Straits. (R.)

15. οὐκ ἀντισχύοντα τὸ ῥέθρον. Cf. ch. 43 (2) n.

- 59 2. Δορίσκοι. A fort of great strength; cf. ch. 106.

5. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ. αὐτῷ instead of a relative in the second clause is regular, because the case is changed; cf. Dem.

III. 35, ἐκείνοι, οἱς οὐκ ἐχαρίζοντο οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτούς. The rule however is not without exceptions; cf. III. 40, τὸ ἄν εἴρη καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ.

8. ἐπιτήδεος—ἐξαριθμῆσαι, 'a suitable spot for reviewing and numbering in'; cf. ch. 52 (7) n.

13. πεπόλισται πόλις. Cf. ch. 108 etc., and II. xx. 216, οὐπω Ἴλιος ἱρή | ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο.

14. Ζώνη. Famous only as the place where Orpheus' music charmed the trees.

τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ. For the adj. replacing an adverbial expression (1) of *place*, cf. Soph. O. T. 1411, θαλάσσιον ἐκρίψατ'. Ant. 786, φοιτῆς ὑπερπόντιος. (2) of *time*, cf. VIII. 130, πρῶτος. Ch. 196, τριταῖος, and Lat. *matutinus*, *vespertinus* etc.

16. Κικόνων. The land of the Cicones was the first reached by Odysseus on leaving Troy, Od. ix. 39, Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσαν etc., where they are described as a flourishing tribe. Virgil imputes the murder of Orpheus to the Ciconian women, Georg. iv. 520. ^{κατασχόντες—ἀνεκύσαντες.} Notice the prepositions. To the Greek mind the open sea, as well as the interior, was higher than the shore.

In Att., κατέχειν is commoner without object, in this sense; cf. VIII. 41, and ch. 182 n.

2. ἐς ἀριθμὸν, 'to be numbered'; cf. ch. 97 n.

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4. ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. 1,700,000 was possibly above the real total. As has been commonly remarked, it was in the interest of the Persian leaders and of their monarch to increase their own importance by exaggerating the numbers under their command, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες ἐς τὰ οὐκ αἰετὰ πλήθη, cf. Thuc. v. 68; and by the method of counting adopted, a magnified total could easily be obtained, if the men were warned not to crowd too closely into the enclosures; cf. ch. 186 n.

It seems probable that the following detailed description 61 of Xerxes' army, with which the list of Darius' satrapies, III. 90 seqq., should be compared, was derived from the registers made out by the royal scribes, mentioned ch. 100, VIII. 90.

These documents may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks after Plataea.

2. *περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῇσι*. *περὶ* with the dat. is frequently used in describing articles of dress; cf. II. xi. 17, *κηκιδᾶς... περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἐθήκε*. Xen. Cyr. i. 2, *θώρακα περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἔχων*. Pl. Rep. 359 E, *περὶ τῇ χειρὶ δακτύλιον*.

3. *τιώρας*, usually fem.

4. *κιθῶνας*. The *κιθῶν* (Att. *χιτῶν*) being the one indispensable garment worn by all classes alike, it is not surprising that its name should have an extended use, and be applied to warlike equipments, though signifying more properly the soft stuff tunic or doublet, as distinguished from the breast-plate; e.g. ix. 22, *ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτὸν, κατ' ὑπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φουνίκεον ἐνδεδύκεε*. Cf. the Homeric *χάλκεος χιτῶν* and the use in ch. 139.

6. *ἀναξυρίδες*. Lat. *bracae*. Cf. Persius, III. 53, *Porticus... bracatis illita Medis*. These garments were also worn by Scythians and Sacans, and in later times by the Gauls.

ὑπὸ δέ. The adverbial use of the Prepositions is common in Hdt., as in Homer; cf. *infra* *πρὸς δέ*. Ch. 40, *μετὰ δέ*. Ch. 55, *ἐπὶ δέ* etc.

Schweig. here takes *ὑπὸ* as 'behind', 'at their backs', comparing i. 12, *ὑπὸ τὴν θύρην* (behind the door), but the sense 'below', i.e. under their shields, seems equally good.

10. *παρέχοντο*. Cf. ch. 62, 121, viii. 2. *παρέχ.* mid. is properly to provide, or, as freq. in Hdt., to have, and shew that one has, with some idea of display. Cf. ch. 161, *Ἀθηναῖοι... ἀρχαῖότατον ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι*. viii. 61, *πόλιν παρεχόμενον... οὕτω* (when he could point to his native city, and only then). xi. 174, *Ἀψευδέα μαντήϊα παρεχομένων*. Amestris was notorious for her cruelty, ch. 114.

13. *Ἀπράτοι*. The meaning apparently is 'the great ones', probably cognate with Arta- in Artaxerxes, Artaphernes, etc.

14. *Περσεύς*. We cannot attempt to explain or reconcile the various legends about Perseus. According to the best known fable, he was son of Zeus and Danae, daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos. See vi. 53. Hdt. tells us that Acrisius was, according to the Greek version, of Egyptian descent. Belus

is generally supposed to have been king of Egypt, and his son Cepheus king of Ethiopia, though Hdt. here appears to regard them as sovereigns of pre-historic Persia. What seems most probable is that the fabled connexion with Persia was derived from the similarity of name. To the mind of Hdt. and to the Greeks generally it was essential that every nation should have an eponymous founder.

1. τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην, *sc.* στολήν. Cf. i. 80, ἱππὰδα στολήν 62 ἐσταλμένους. For similar ellipse cf. ch. 84, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι. 72, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες. Ch. 48, τὴν ταχίστην, and the frequent τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ (κεκοσμημένον). i. 109 (ἐδησε), iii. 119, v. 72, where a fem. noun must in each case be supplied from the accompanying verb. These fem. accusatives have, from their frequent occurrence, almost acquired an adverbial force.

2. Μηδικὴ γάρ. Cf. i. 135, ξενικὰ δὲ νόμαϊα Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέουσι.

5. Ἄριοι. Medes and Persians alike belonged to the Iranian branch of the great Aryan (or Indo-Germanic) Family, of which Teutons, Kelts, Romans, Greeks etc. are all members. The name Aryan probably meant 'Honourable'. The same root appears in the names *Ariaramnes*, *Ariabazus* etc., as also in Iran or Eran. The connexion with Medea is a mere fable.

8. Κίσσιοι. The Cissians and Cassi were the chief of the tribes inhabiting the province of Susiana ('Elam' of the Bible), lying to the S. of Assyria; it was called by their name Cissia.

10. μιτρηφόροι. For the *μίτρα*, a kind of turban with folds round the throat and neck, see Rich, Dict. Antiq. It was worn by Greek women, and considered a mark of effeminacy in men by the Romans and Greeks alike. Cf. Virg. Aen. iv. 215:

*Et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu,
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
Subnixus.*

11. Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀρνέω. Perhaps a brother of Xerxes' charioteer; cf. ch. 40.

Ὑρκάνιοι. Also an Aryan tribe, inhabiting the fertile

region round the modern Astarabad. They are never mentioned as an independent race, and at this time formed one Satrapy with the Parthians.

14. ἐπιτροπέσαντα. With acc. in ch. 78. For meaning cf. ch. 7 n.

- 63 6. λινέους θάρηκας. Sometimes with as many as 18 folds of linen steeped in a special preparation, and almost impervious. They were introduced into Greece by Iphicrates, instead of mail and chain cuirasses. Probably an Egyptian invention.

8. Σύριοι—'Ασσύριοι. The two names were confused by the Greeks. The Syrians being among the first of the Semitic race to come into contact with the Greeks, their name was used by these to include Cappadocians and Assyrians, besides Syrians proper. Indeed the term Syrian or Assyrian came to signify all settled Semites, as distinguished from Arabians, or wandering tribes of that race. According to Hdt., the Assyrian Empire had lasted for 520 years before the Medes revolted and gained the sovereignty. i. 95.

9. Χαλδαίοι. The name of a Babylonian tribe, as well as of a priestly caste; cf. the Magi in Persia, and Levites in Israel. Chaldaea meant originally the southern part only of Babylonia, but after a change of dynasty the term was applied to the whole province.

- 64 1. Βάκτροι. The Bactrians, a brave and warlike race, were among the troops picked by Mardonius after Salamis, vii. 118; in the wars with Alexander, their descendants played a distinguished part. Locality: modern Balkh.

4. Σάκαι. Sacae was the Iranian, Scythian the Greek name, first for a single Turanian tribe, and hence for the whole family, which includes Turks, Finns, Mongols, etc. (Kiepert). The Sacae, being the westernmost tribe, became subject from time to time to Persia. In after years they settled in Bactria, and from thence conquered and gave their name to Seistan. N.B. According to Ed. Meyer, the Sacans were, on the contrary, nomadic Aryans.

5. κυρβάσις...πεπηγυῖς, 'ending in a point' and 'sticking up', opp. to the πῖλους δρυγῖς (ch. 61), soft felt caps worn

by the Persians, of whom the King alone had the right to wear his stiffened to a point; cf. Ar. Av. 486, of the cock,

ἐχων... ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας διαβάσκει,

ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβάσιαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθήν,

and Plut. Them. xxix., where Demaratus asks permission 'τὴν κίδαριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σαρδεων'. The request was indignantly refused. *τιάρα*, *κυρβάσια* and *κίταρις* appear to be synonymous.

For the phrase *ἐς ὅξυ ἀπιγμένας*, cf. II. 28, *οὔρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπιγμένα*. For text see Errata. Bähr reads *ἀπηγμένας*.

8. *σαγάρεις*. Double-headed axes, used also by the Amazons, Xen. An. iv. 4. 16.

Ἀμυργίους, with *Σκύθας*. A territorial appellation.

1. *Ἰνδοί*. The Indians of the Punjab and lower Indus 65 valley were conquered by Darius, iv. 44.

ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, i.e. cotton. Cf. III. 47, *θώρηκα λίνεον κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρλοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου*, and ib. 106 (of India) *τὰ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἰρια... καὶ ἐσθῆτι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρώνται*. Hence the cotton tree and cotton were known as *xylon* and *xylina*. Cf. the German Baumwolle.

3. *σιδηρον*, i.e. iron tips.

1. *Ἄριοι*. The special name of these Aryans must be distinguished from that of the great Aryan family (cf. 62 n.), to 66 which they themselves belonged. Their country was probably the region of Herat.

3. *Πάρθοι*. This equestrian race, so famous in Roman History, were probably of Scythian origin. They rose to great importance under the Arsacid dynasty, about 250 B.C., and finally ruled over the greater part of Asia. The "Caspian Gates" (see ch. 67) were their boundary towards Media.

Χοράσμοι. Probably an Aryan tribe, settled S. of the Sea of Aral.

4. *Σόγδοι*. Sogdiana lay between the Oxus and Jaxartes, in the region of modern Bokhara and Samarcand. The people were partly, but not wholly, Iranian.

Γανδάριοι. Dwelling by the Choaspes S. of the Hindu-Kûsh; their name would seem to survive in Candahar.

Δαδίκαι. Probably living near the Gandarii.

7. **Ἀράβαζος.** A highly influential Persian; cf. VIII. 126.

67 1. **Κάσπιοι.** A nomadic tribe, living by the Caspian Gates, a narrow pass in the Elburz mountains, to which they seem to have given their name, as also to the Caspian Sea.

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πέδιλα. Here, evidently, a kind of buskin; usually, only of sandals.

8. **Φερενδότης ὁ Μεγαβάζου.** Megabazus had been one of the most trusted generals of Darius, and was left in command of the troops remaining in Europe after the Scythian campaign, IV. 148. It was at his advice that Histiaeus was subsequently recalled from his fort on the Strymon, a measure which led ultimately to the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt.

9. **Πάκτους.** Ancestors of the Afghans, who still call themselves Pakhtu.

68 1. **Οὔτιοι.** Modern Kirman, in the heart of Persia. Little is known of the Μύκοι. The *Παρικάνιοι* were a non-Aryan race of dark colour.

4. **Ἀρσαμένης,** according to Plut., was slain fighting bravely at Salamis. He is described as *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτος*, Them. XIV.

69 1. **ζιῶδες**, a foreign word, denoting a long loose robe descending to the feet.

2. **τόξα παλίντονα.** Bows so elastic that, when unstrung, they sprang backwards. *παλίντονα* evidently here describes a special kind of bow, though sometimes employed as a general epithet, being applied to the bows of the Scythians, Aesch. Cho. 160, which were not of the backbending class. Cf. Soph. Tr. 511, and the frequent use in Homer. See Rich, s. *arcus*.

πρὸς δεξιὰ. 'On the right side.' Bows were usually hung on the left. *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ* is more common; cf. II. 93, VI. 33.

4. **ἐναμμένοι**. Middle. Cf. Ar. Av. 1250, *παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους*. *παρδαλέας*, sc. *δοράς*.

10. *τυλωτά*, i.q. *τετυλωμένα*, ch. 63.

18. **Ἀραβίων**. Probably the inhabitants of the strip of land between the Nile basin and Red Sea (cf. ii. 8); for, as R. points out, the Arabs of Asia were never conquered by Persia, iii. 88.

Ἀρσάμης. Cf. Persae, 37:

ὁ τε τῆς *Ιερῆς* Μέμφιδος ἄρχων
μέγας Ἀρσάμης.

In l. 308, his death at Salamis is recorded.

2. **Αἰθίοπες**. Cf. Od. i. 23:

*Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ἑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.*

The African Ethiopians of lower Ethiopia and Nubia, forefathers of the negroes of to-day, were partially reduced by Cambyses, iii. 97. The so-called Asiatic Ethiopians, quite a different race, as we see from Hdt.'s description, were scattered through S. Iran and India; a remnant may be seen in modern Belûchistan.

9. **προμετωπίδια**. Elsewhere, of a metal plate used to protect the forehead of cavalry horses, Xen. An. i. 8, 7. For the custom here described cf. Virg. Aen. xi. 680, of Ornytus:

*caput ingens oris hiatus
Et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis.*

So Hercules is depicted, Val. Flacc. Arg. i. 34, as wearing the Nemean lion's head for a helmet.

11. **κατέχρα**. Cf. *ἀποχρᾶ*, ch. 43. *ἐξέχρησε*, viii. 70.

12. **προβλήματα κ.τ.λ.** Cf. iv. 175, of an African tribe, *εἰς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δοράς φορέουσι προβλήματα*.

1. **Λίβυες**. A detailed description of the various Libyan tribes is given iv. 168 seqq. Though Hdt. applies the name Libya to Africa as a whole (excluding Egypt, which he assigns to Asia, ii. 17), he limits the designation 'Λίβυες' to a special native and nomadic race, iv. 197, represented at the present day by the Berbers, who, dark as they are, are considerably lighter in colour than negroes.

σκεπὴν μὲν σκυτίνην. Cf. iv. 189, σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσίων ἐστὶ. In the Soudan even now 'the general dress is leather' (Lyon, quoted by R.).

2. ἀκοντίοισι ἐπικαύτοισι. Cf. ch. 74, and Virg. Aen. xi. 893:

robore duro

Stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis,

and ib. vii. 524, *praeustis*.

72 1. Παφλαγόνες, a tribe allied to the Cappadocians. They were included in the empire of Croesus, i. 28, and on his fall became subject to Persia.

2. κράνα πεπλεγμένα. Cf. ch. 63; plaited thongs of leather are probably meant, as in Xen.'s time the Paphlagonians wore leathern helmets. An. v. 4, 13.

4. πίδαλα...ἀνατείνοντα. Cf. ch. 67.

5. Δίγυες. From the mountain slopes of Caucasus; perhaps of the same race as the inhabitants of the European Liguria.

6. Ματιηνοί. Locality: the mountainous region of Kurdistan, stretching as far as Erzeroum, and possibly touching Atropatene. The race seems however to have been scattered.

Μαριανδυνοί. Also formerly subject to Croesus; they lived to the north of Bithynia, along the coast, and were probably of Thracian origin.

8. Σύροι. The origin of the Cappadocians has been much disputed. It is not impossible that, as their home lay on the borderland between the Aryan and Semitic races, they were of mixed descent. They obtained the name of Syrian as being the westernmost tribe of the great Assyrian (ch. 63) Empire, and therefore the first known to the Greeks.

73 1. Φρύγες. There can be no doubt that the Briges and Phrygians were connected, Φ being regularly changed to B by the Macedonians; that the Phrygians were offshoots of the Briges is less probable. The latter are most likely the Βρύγοι of vi. 45 and infra 185. The Phrygians were at a later time so much employed as slaves in Greece that Φρύξ came to mean a slave; cf. Ar. Vesp. 433.

2. παραλλάσσοντες, i.e. διαλλάσσοντες, ch. 70.

6. **Ἀρμένιοι**. Here again, though the races were kindred, it is doubtful whether the Armenians were Phrygian settlers. Both races belonged to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family.

1. **Λυδοί**. The Lydians had conquered and supplanted the 74 Maeonians, who are mentioned as dwelling by the Tmolus, II. II. 866. The Lydians first rose to prominence under Gyges, about 716 B.C., extended their power largely under Croesus, and became a medium for importing Greek civilisation into the East. For Lydus, cf. I. 7, *οἱ δὲ βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπώγονοι Λυδοῦ, τοῦ Ἄττυος, ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος*. Cf. also ch. 61 (14) note.

8. **Λυδῶν ἀποικοί**. Cf. I. 171, *Μυσοῖσι καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοις εἶναι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς*. The latter theory, that the Mysians were a kindred race, not an offshoot of the Lydians, is on the whole more probable; they also fell under the sway of Croesus, I. 28. The Mysian Olympus was the scene of the boar hunt, fatal to Croesus' son, I. 43.

10. **Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης**. The elder Artaphernes, half-brother of Darius, had, while Satrap of Sardis, at Aristagoras' request, promoted the expedition against Naxos, the failure of which led indirectly to the Ionian Revolt; he afterwards played a prominent part in the ensuing war, V. 31 seq.

For the younger Artaphernes, and his share in the Marathonian expedition, cf. VI. 94 seq.

2. **ἀλωπεκίας ἔχοντες**. Cf. Xen. An. VII. 4, § 4, (quoted by 75 B.), *οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειράς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας*.

5. **νεβρῶν**. Gen. of material; 'of deerskin', as we should say.

9. **ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν**. Cf. ch. 20.

2. **δοπιδας**. It is clear that some words are missing 76 before *δοπιδας*.

8. **προβόλους**. Cf. ch. 148, *τὸν προβόλαιον*, what is put forward for defence; cf. ch. 71, *πρόβλημα*, a shield.

For *λυκιοεργίας*, 'of Lycian workmanship', others read *λυκοεργίας*, 'defending from wolves'.

- 77 1. *Καβηλᾶες*. The Cabalians are distinguished from the Lasonians, III. 90; the origin of neither tribe is certain, though the former were probably Semitic; their home was in the south of Asia Minor, to the north of Lycia. For the Cilicians, whose descent is doubtful, cf. ch. 91.

4. *Μιλῶται*. Milyas, the name of a district in Lycia, was originally used of the whole (cf. I. 173); but the Milyan race was distinct from that of the Lycians proper.

5. *ἐμάτα ἐνπεπορπύετο*, 'wore garments fastened with brooches'; cf. *πορπάζω*, 'to pin down', Aesch. P. V. 61, and *πόρπη*, a brooch, buckle.

τόξα Λύκια, i.e. *τόξα κρανίνα*, ch. 92.

- 78 1. *Μέσχοι*, the 'Mesech' of Ps. cxx., were the chief people of Northern Syria, Taurus, and Cappadocia, during the Assyrian Empire; they were afterwards driven by the Aryan races to the district about Colchia, from whence in later times they crossed the Caucasus, and were known as Muscovites.

3. *λόγχαι*, 'spear points'. Cf. chs. 40, 55, 69.

4. *Τιβάρηνοι*, the 'Tubal' of the Bible, were, like the Moschians, of Turanian origin; with the latter they are associated, not only in Hdt., III. 94, but frequently in Scripture; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 13, "Javan, Tubal and Meshech". Ib. xxxiii. 26, "Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude" etc. etc. They first occupied Cappadocia, and were afterwards driven into a small tract along the N. coast of Asia Minor.

Μάκρονες. Locality: about Trapezus, modern Trebizond. They had thrown off the Persian yoke in Xenophon's time, but afterwards fell under the dominion of Pontus, then of Rome, and were converted to Christianity in the reign of Justinian.

Μοσύνουκοι. Locality: a tract of coast between the Tibareni and Macrones. A wild, uncivilised tribe, said to be called after the wooden towers in which they lived. The elected chiefs, who governed them, were never permitted to quit their several towers, and were thus conveniently starved to death, when they failed to satisfy their subjects! Cf. Xen. An. v. 4.

9. Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος. For Artayktes, son of Cherasmis, cf. ch. 33.

1. Μάρες. An obscure tribe; locality uncertain.

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4. Κόλχοι. Locality: basin of the river Phasis, together with a tract of country above Trapezus. The Colchians, a black race living in the midst of whites, were believed by Hdt. to be of Egyptian origin, II. 104. Cf. Pind., P. IV. 212, κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν.

7. Φαρανδάτης, given as Φαρανδάκης, Aesch. Pers. 31.

Ἀλαρόδιοι, an obscure tribe, perhaps from the region of Ararat.

8. Σάσπειρες, or Σάπειρες; mod. Sper.

9. Μασίστιος. A Persian of this name fell at Plataea, IX. 24 seqq., remarkable for beauty and stature, for whom great lamentation was made, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόκιον λογιμωτάτου, παρὰ τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεῖ.

1. τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς θαλάσσης. The name is used in a wide sense by Hdt. for the Indian Ocean, II. 102, IV. 39; including the Persian Gulf, as here and I. 180, Εὐφρήτης ἐξίει ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, and also our 'Red Sea', II. 158, which is more specially termed ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος. The islands in question lie along the coast of Persia.

2. ἐπόμενα, 'accompanying the host', not necessarily 'following'.

3. ἀνασπάστους, lit. uprooted. The expression ἀνασπάστους ποιεῖν (ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, παρὰ βασιλέα &c.) is frequently used in Hdt. of conquered nations removed from their homes and 'carried into captivity', a measure common in the East. These lands are also mentioned III. 93, and it is probable that they were reserved as a place of exile for individual offenders.

7. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων. Lit. 'the second year after this', or, as we might say, 'more than a year after'. Mycale was fought according to Greek tradition on the same day as Plataea, Sept. 479, B.C. The death of Mardontes is related in IX. 102.

For τούτων, a loose Gen. of connexion, cf. VI. 40, τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων, 'the third year before this'; also ib. 46.

6. τελέων. For τέλος, a squadron, cf. ch. 87, 211, 223. 81. These σημάντορες were perhaps inferior native officers.

- 82 4. τοῦ γνῶμην θεμένου. Abicht compares τίθεμαι ψῆφον, III. 73, an expression which probably gave rise to this one.

8. Μασίστης, Satrap of Bactria, was almost slain by the general Artayntes in a fit of passion, IX. 107, and was eventually put to death with all his household by Xerxes.

9. Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου, the general who afterwards defeated the Athenians in Egypt; Hdt. III. 160; Thucyd. I. 109. Zopyrus had enabled Darius to capture Babylon by a stratagem, to further which he had mutilated himself, gaining thereby the lasting gratitude of the King.

- 83 4. Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνης. Hydarnes was the name of one of the Seven who slew the False Smerdis, and may have been the elder of the two here mentioned. A noble of the same name appears infra ch. 135.

7. ἀραίρητο, 'had been already chosen', and therefore passed at once into the ranks.

οὐδαμᾶ. The adverb, used also in Att. poetry, is formed from the neut. (cf. ch. 55 *πρώτα*) of οὐδαμοί, which Hdt. employs alongside of οὐδένης. Cf. ch. 104, IX. 58 &c. The latter form only is found in Attic, though οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδαμῶς, ἀμῶς (γέ πως), etc. are common.

9. πλείστον διὰ πάντων. Cf. VIII. 37, διὰ πάντων ἀξία θαυμάσαι μάλιστα. Ib. 69, ἐν πρώτοις τετιμημένοι διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων. I. 25, θέης ἀξίον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀναθημάτων. διὰ, thus used with superlatives, or virtual superlatives, has the sense 'among', developed out of that of 'through', 'going through'; cf. ch. 30 note.

10. καὶ αὐτοί, 'in physique', apart from their gorgeous uniforms, they were the finest set of men.

- 84 1. ἱππεύει...τὰ ἔθνη. ταῦτα naturally refers to the races actually mentioned, though in reality only *some* of these actually fought on horseback; the inaccuracy of the general statement is corrected by πλὴν...μῶνα.

Others take ταῦτα as equal to τὰδε, explaining that Hdt. is about to enumerate all the cavalry force of the Empire, but, checking himself, gives only those who actually served on this occasion. ἱππεύεσθαι is found in the same sense I. 79.

πλὴν, 'only', here a conjunction; cf. ch. 32, and Soph.

O. C. 1643, ἀλλ' ἔρπεθ' ὡς τάχιστα· πλὴν ὁ κύριος | Θησεὺς παρέστω.

3. τὴν αὐτὴν...καὶ ὁ πεζός. The use of *καὶ* in comparisons is a remnant of the old 'paratactic' construction (coordination), used before the development of dependent clauses: "They were armed in the same way, *and* the infantry [was armed in the same way]"; cf. Lat. *idem atque*. For other traces of parataxis, cf. the adversative use of *μέν* and *δὲ* (Engl. 'though' with dep. clause, answered by 'yet'...); also ch. 12 (2) n., and 160 n. on ἡ...ἡ.

5. ἐξεληλαμένα, i.q. σφυρήλατον, ch. 69.

1. Σαγάρτιοι. A race living chiefly on horseback, from 85 the mountainous country near Parthia.

2. ἔθνος μὲν Π., 'Persian by descent, and in speech'. ἔθνος is probably an acc. (as *φωνῇ* is a dat.) of *respect*, with which *Περσικόν* agrees, by attraction. Hdt. might have said ἔθνος μὲν Περσικοί (or Πέρσαι). Cf. i. 6, ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος.

5. ὅπλα δὲ...ἔχον. Ch. 2 (14) n.

11. ἦν τε...ἦν τε. For Gk. 'and', where we use 'or', cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

τύχη...ἔλκει, sc. ὁ βαλὼν. Cf. ii. 47, θυσίῃ δὲ ἦδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ...κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε.

12. ἐμπαλασσόμενοι, 'getting entangled'. The simple verb *παλάσσω* is to sprinkle, shake together [lots, in a helmet]; hence rose the idea of mixing and entanglement. Cf. Thucyd. vii. 84, of the Athenian soldiers at the river Assinarus.

4. κέλῃτας, here, 'riding horses'; for a different meaning 86 cf. viii. 94, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλῃτα, i.e. a fast sailing vessel.

5. ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Cf. Lat. *onager*.

9. Κάσπριοι. A people from the borders of India.

12. λειπομένας. Cf. ch. 8 (18) n.

5. τῶν ἵππων οὐτι...καμήλων. Cf. i. 80, κάμηλον ἵππος 87 φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραϊνόμενος. Cyrus made use of this aversion towards camels to rout the Lydian horse in his battle with Croesus.

8. πεσών, i.e. Pharnuches. The change of subject is 88 harsh, but the sense is clear.

13. παρελύθη. Cf. ch. 38 n.

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Greek settlements being afterwards established on the coast. One of these, Salamis, is said to have been founded by Teucer, soon after the Trojan war; cf. Hor. Od. i. 7. The island was conquered by Amasis, II. 182, but submitted to Persia before the Egyptian campaign of Cambyses, III. 19. It joined the Ionian revolt, v. 104, was speedily reconquered, and supplied ships to Persia at the battle of Lade, together with the Phoenicians, Egyptians and Cilicians. The petty kings, here βασιλῆες, are called τύραννοι, v. 109.

7. Κέθον, one of the Cyclades.

8. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας. These may have been colonists left after the Egyptian conquest (R.), or, as B. suggests, a swarm of pirates from the Nile Delta.

5. ἐνδευκότες, sc. ἦσαν. Cf. ch. 89.

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7. Ὑπαχαιοί. The name is not mentioned elsewhere. The Cilicians were a Semitic race, akin to the Phoenicians. For the eponymous Κίλιξ, cf. ch. 61 (14) n.

9. Πάμφυλοι. Chiefly of Greek descent, though intermingled with Lycians, and perhaps other races. Amphilocheus ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω is mentioned III. 91; the legends of his wanderings with Calchas are various.

5. αἰωρούμενα. Cf. ch. 61, παραιωρούμενα in a similar 92 sense. For a metaphorical use, cf. VIII. 100, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα.

7. Λύκιοι. Cf. i. 173. Sarpedon, driven from Crete by his brother Minos, is there said to have led his partisans to Lycia.

8. ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου. Cf. ib. Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελαβὲς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως ἀπὶ κετο εἰς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα. The Lycian race was not Hellenic, and it is doubtful whether there was any foundation for this legend.

1. Δωριῆς. Cf. i. 144; supra ch. 9 n.

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3. γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Cf. ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες above. ἀπὸ generally expresses more remote origin than ἐκ. Cf. ch. 150; Isocr. 249 B, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας.

4. Κῆρες. Cf. i. 171, the passage referred to. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω τε κατήκοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νῆσους...

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4. Σιδώνιοι. Cf. ch. 44.

96

6. οὐ γὰρ...λόγον. 'As I am not constrained to do so, on the score of my narrative.' Cf. ii. 3, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. vii. 139, ἀναγκαίη ἐξέρρομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, and ch. 99, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος.

ἐξ- gives the idea of being debarred from all other courses, and so forced into one particular course. Cf. i. 31, ἐκκληγόμενοι τῇ ᾠρῃ, 'compelled by the press of time'. See B. a. l.

ἱστορίη is (1) inquiry, ii. 118, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μεγέλεω. (2) information gained by inquiry, ii. 99, δψις

τε ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη κ. ἱστορίη, as opp. to *Αἰγυπτίους λόγους*, popular legends. Cf. i. 1, *ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις*, 'setting forth of investigations'. (3) *narrative*, as here and in later writers.

8. *ἐπὶ ξίοι*, sc. *μνήμης*, i. q. *ἀξιόλογοι*.

11. *ἐπὶ...μοι*. 'For the generals holding the supreme command, and ruling the several races, I have already enumerated, being such as were of Persian blood.'

13. *αὐτῶν*, i.e. of the commanders.

97 2. *Ἀριαβίγνης*, slain at Salamis, viii. 89.

3. *Ἀσπαθίνω*. A noble of this name was among the slayers of the False Smerdis.

4. *Μεγαβάρτω*. Probably the same who commanded the Naxian expedition in conjunction with Aristagoras, v. 32 seqq.

Ἀχαιμένης. Cf. ch. 7.

9. *οἱ δύο*, 'the other two'. Cf. ch. 29 (12) n.

10. *κέρκουροι*. Open vessels propelled by oars, invented by the Cyprians; used for trading purposes as well as in war.

11. *συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν*, 'assembled for the muster'; cf. ch. 60, *ὅσον ἕκαστοι παρείχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν*. Xen. An. vii. 1. 11, *ὅς ἂν μὴ παρῇ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν*, and supra ch. 59, *ἀριθμὸν ποιεῖσθαι*. Schweighäuser joins *ἐς τ. ἀρ.* with *τρισχίλια*, 'ter mille numero'.

For *ἐφάνη*, 'proved to be', 'were made out to be', cf. ch. 60.

98 8. *Σιδώνιος*. Cf. viii. 67, *ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς*. At the council of war before Salamis, he filled the most honourable seat after Xerxes.

4. *Σιρώμων*. Probably the same name as Hiram.

Ἀράδιος. Aradus, or Aroad, one of the oldest Phoenician cities, lay on the coast, considerably to the N. of Sidon.

Μέρβαλος. Another form of Maherbal.

5. *Συνέννεσις*. Probably the title of the kings of Cilicia, being applied to all those mentioned in history. This king fell at Salamis fighting bravely, *πρῶτος ἐς εὐψυχίαν...ἐς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον | ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο*, Pera. 326.

6. *Γόργος*. Gorgos, king of Salamis, had fled to Persia when, at his brother Onesilus' instigation, Cyprus joined the Ionian Revolt, v. 104. On the suppression of the rebellion he was reinstated.

8. **Ἰστιάτος**. King of Termera, a Carian city lying opposite the island of Cos. He was seized by Aristagoras before the outbreak of the Revolt, v. 37, but had evidently regained his position.

9. **Δαμασθίμος**. King of Calynda, on the Carian frontier. For his fate cf. viii. 87.

3. **ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος**. Cf. ch. 96.

99

Ἀρτεμισίης...γυναικός. 'But only of Artemisia, at whom above all I wonder, for having taken part in the expedition against Greece, woman as she was.'

θῶμα ποιέσθαι is generally followed by an acc. of the thing wondered at, cf. viii. 74; sometimes coupled with a gen. of the person in whom, ix. 58, θ. π. τὸ ἀρρωδῆσαι τοῦ Ἀτραβάδου. Here the acc. is replaced by an explanatory partic. **στρατεύσασμένης γυναικός** = τὸ στρατεύσασθαι γυναῖκα (εὐδαν).

For **θῶμα ποιέσθαι** = **θωμάζειν**, cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

According to the account of Suidas, Herodotus was driven from Halicarnassus by the tyranny of Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia; if this be true, he shows singular impartiality towards the family. The queen is frequently mentioned in Bk. viii.

12. **Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων**. Nisyrus and Calydna were two small islets on either side of Cos; they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, II. ii. 676.

16. **τῶν δὲ...αὐτῇ**, 'of the cities which I have enumerated as under her rule'. Cf. ch. 115.

19. **ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε...εἰρηται**. 'So much for an account of the naval force.' For similar expressions dismissing a subject, cf. viii. 125, ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο. ix. 18, τὰ...μὲν ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο.

1. **ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη**. The mss. give **ἡρίθμησε**, 100 but the change of subject in that case would be impossibly harsh, far harsher than that of ch. 88 (8), and the confusion may be partly due to the following **ἐπεθύμησε**.

2. **διεξέλασας**. Notice the prepositions; *driving right through*, ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἐσχάτα. *τὸ ἀσφαλές*

5. **ἐπυνθάνετο**, 'pursued his inquiries'. The tense marks

- 82 4. τοῦ γνῶμην θεμένου. Abicht compares τίθεμαι ψῆφον, III. 73, an expression which probably gave rise to this one.

8. Μασίστης, Satrap of Bactria, was almost slain by the general Artayntes in a fit of passion, IX. 107, and was eventually put to death with all his household by Xerxes.

9. Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου, the general who afterwards defeated the Athenians in Egypt; Hdt. III. 160; Thucyd. I. 109. Zopyrus had enabled Darius to capture Babylon by a stratagem, to further which he had mutilated himself, gaining thereby the lasting gratitude of the King.

- 83 4. Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Hydarnes was the name of one of the Seven who slew the False Smerdis, and may have been the elder of the two here mentioned. A noble of the same name appears infra ch. 135.

7. ἀρσίρητο, 'had been already chosen', and therefore passed at once into the ranks.

οὔδαμᾶ. The adverb, used also in Att. poetry, is formed from the neut. (cf. ch. 55 *πρώτα*) of οὐδαμοί, which Hdt. employs alongside of οὐδένης. Cf. ch. 104, IX. 58 &c. The latter form only is found in Attic, though οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδαμῶς, ἀμῶς (γέ πως), etc. are common.

9. πλείστον διὰ πάντων. Cf. VIII. 37, διὰ πάντων ἄξια θαυμάσαι μάλιστα. Ib. 69, ἐν πρώτοις τετιμημένοι διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων. I. 25, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀναθημάτων. διὰ, thus used with superlatives, or virtual superlatives, has the sense 'among', developed out of that of 'through', 'going through'; cf. ch. 30 note.

10. καὶ αὐτοί, 'in physique', apart from their gorgeous uniforms, they were the finest set of men.

- 84 1. ἱππεύει...τὰ ἔθνη. ταῦτα naturally refers to the races already mentioned, though in reality only *some* of these actually fought on horseback; the inaccuracy of the general statement is corrected by πλὴν...μῶνα.

Others take ταῦτα as equal to τὰδε, explaining that Hdt. is about to enumerate all the cavalry force of the Empire, but, checking himself, gives only those who actually served on this occasion. ἱππεύεσθαι is found in the same sense I. 79.

πλὴν, 'only', here a conjunction; cf. ch. 32, and Soph.

O. C. 1643, ἀλλ' ἔρπεθ' ὡς τάχιστα· πλὴν ὁ κύριος | Θησεὺς παρέστω.

3. τὴν αὐτὴν...καὶ ὁ πεζός. The use of *καὶ* in comparisons is a remnant of the old 'paratactic' construction (coordination), used before the development of dependent clauses: "They were armed in the same way, *and* the infantry [was armed in the same way]"; cf. Lat. *idem atque*. For other traces of parataxis, cf. the adversative use of *μὲν* and *δὲ* (Engl. 'though' with dep. clause, answered by 'yet'...); also ch. 12 (2) n., and 160 n. on ἡ...ἡ.

5. ἐξηλαμμένα, i.q. σφυρήλατον, ch. 69.

1. Σαγάρτιοι. A race living chiefly on horseback, from 85 the mountainous country near Parthia.

2. ἔθνος μὲν Π., 'Persian by descent, and in speech'. ἔθνος is probably an acc. (as *φωνῇ* is a dat.) of *respect*, with which *Περσικὸν* agrees, by attraction. Hdt. might have said ἔθνος μὲν Περσικοὶ (or Πέρσαι). Cf. i. 6, ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος.

5. ὅπλα δὲ...ἔχεν. Ch. 2 (14) n.

11. ἦν τε...ἦν τε. For Gk. 'and', where we use 'or', cf. ch. 8 (8) n.

τύχη...ἔλκει, sc. ὁ βαλὼν. Cf. ii. 47, θυσιῇ δὲ ἦδε τῶν ὕων τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ...κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε.

12. ἐμπαλασσόμενοι, 'getting entangled'. The simple verb *παλάσσω* is to sprinkle, shake together [lots, in a helmet]; hence rose the idea of mixing and entanglement. Cf. Thucyd. vii. 84, of the Athenian soldiers at the river Assinarus.

4. κέλῃτας, here, 'riding horses'; for a different meaning 86 cf. viii. 94, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλῃτα, i.e. a fast sailing vessel.

5. ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Cf. Lat. *onager*.

9. Κάσπριοι. A people from the borders of India.

12. λειπομένας. Cf. ch. 8 (18) n.

5. τῶν ἵππων οὐτι...καμήλους. Cf. i. 80, κάμηλον ἵππος 87 φοβέται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὀσφραϊνόμενος. Cyrus made use of this aversion towards camels to rout the Lydian horse in his battle with Croesus.

8. πεσών, i.e. Pharnuches. The change of subject is 88 harsh, but the sense is clear.

13. παρελύθη. Cf. ch. 38 n.

- 89 1. ἐπτά...χιλίας. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 341,

Ξέρξης δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ὣν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἐπτά θ'.

Were it not for the statement of Hdt., we might have supposed the 207 to be included in the 1000.

6. ἀγχοτάτω. 'Nearly'; here, absolute; though fol. by a gen., ch. 73, 80; and by a dat., III. 85. Cf. Thuc. vi. 4, ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτώ καὶ ἐκατὸν μετὰ τὴν ὀκτισιν.

7. ἑνδευκότες. Cf. ch. 91.

8. ἴνυς. In the Iliad, the fellow of a wheel; here, the rim of a shield. The πέλτη had no rim.

9. οἱ Φοίνικες. The origin of the Phoenicians, and the question of their migration, previously asserted, c. i. 1, on the authority of Περσέων οἱ λόγοι, is a much debated point. See R. Essay II. App. According to one theory, the sea coast, from which they migrated, was that not of the Red, but of the Dead Sea, whence they were driven by an earthquake. They voluntarily submitted to Persia, III. 19, probably in the reign of Cambyses, who is said, III. 34, προσεκτῆσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν, and were thenceforward the mainstay of the Persian fleet, πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. Cf. R. III. 19, note.

These Syrians of Palestine were the Philistines of the sea coast.

11. τῆς Συρίας. Partitive, as also in the following clause. Cf. ch. 88 (13) n.

13. Αἰγύπτιοι. The Egyptians were specially distinguished for their bravery at Artemisium; cf. VIII. 17. Several of the early kings of Egypt, including Nekos (Pharaoh-necho of II. Kings ch. 23), are mentioned Bk. II. as possessing fleets.

15. χηλευτά, i.e. πλεκτά ἐκ σχοίνου (Hesych.).

16. δόρατά τε ναύμαχα, i.e. 'apta ad pugnam navalem', Bähr, who quotes II. xv. 389, [ξυστά] ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα, κατὰ στόμα εἰμένα χαλκῷ. Ib. 677.

- 90 4. κιθῶνας, in opposition to μίτρησι, is surprising; κιτάριαις or κιτάραις has been conjectured.

Cyprus was colonised at an early age by the Phoenicians,

Greek settlements being afterwards established on the coast. One of these, Salamis, is said to have been founded by Teucer, soon after the Trojan war; cf. Hor. Od. i. 7. The island was conquered by Amasis, II. 182, but submitted to Persia before the Egyptian campaign of Cambyses, III. 19. It joined the Ionian revolt, v. 104, was speedily reconquered, and supplied ships to Persia at the battle of Lade, together with the Phoenicians, Egyptians and Cilicians. The petty kings, here βασιλῆες, are called τύραννοι, v. 109.

7. Κέθρου, one of the Cyclades.

8. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας. These may have been colonists left after the Egyptian conquest (R.), or, as B. suggests, a swarm of pirates from the Nile Delta.

5. ἐνδεδικότες, sc. ἦσαν. Cf. ch. 89.

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7. Ὑπαχαιοί. The name is not mentioned elsewhere. The Cilicians were a Semitic race, akin to the Phoenicians. For the eponymous Κίλιξ, cf. ch. 61 (14) n.

9. Πάμφυλοι. Chiefly of Greek descent, though intermingled with Lycians, and perhaps other races. Amphilocheus ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω is mentioned III. 91; the legends of his wanderings with Calchas are various.

5. αἰωρούμενα. Cf. ch. 61, παραιωρούμενα in a similar sense. For a metaphorical use, cf. VIII. 100, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα.

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7. Λύκιοι. Cf. i. 173. Sarpedon, driven from Crete by his brother Minos, is there said to have led his partisans to Lycia.

8. ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου. Cf. ib. Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελαθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα. The Lycian race was not Hellenic, and it is doubtful whether there was any foundation for this legend.

1. Δωριῆς. Cf. i. 144; supra ch. 9 n.

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3. γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Cf. ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες above. ἀπὸ generally expresses more remote origin than ἐκ. Cf. ch. 150; Isocr. 249 B, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας.

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4. Σιδώνιοι. Cf. ch. 44.

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6. οὐ γὰρ...λόγον. 'As I am not constrained to do so, on the score of my narrative.' Cf. ii. 3, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκασόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. vii. 139, ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, and ch. 99, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος.

ἐξ- gives the idea of being debarred from all other courses, and so forced into one particular course. Cf. i. 31, ἐκκλητόμενοι τῇ ᾧρῃ, 'compelled by the press of time'. See B. a. 1.

ἱστορίη is (1) inquiry, ii. 118, ἱστορήσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. (2) information gained by inquiry, ii. 99, ὅσις

τε ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη κ. ιστορίῃ, as opp. to Αἰγυπτίους λόγους, popular legends. Cf. I. 1, ιστορίης ἀπόδεξις, 'setting forth of investigations'. (3) *narrative*, as here and in later writers.

8. ἐπᾶξιοι, sc. μνήμης, i. q. ἀξιόλογοι.

11. ἐπελ...μοι. 'For the generals holding the supreme command, and ruling the several races, I have already enumerated, being such as were of Persian blood.'

13. αὐτῶν, i.e. of the commanders.

97 2. Ἀριαβίγνης, slain at Salamis, VIII. 89.

3. Ἀσπαθίνεω. A noble of this name was among the slayers of the False Smerdis.

4. Μεγαβάτεω. Probably the same who commanded the Naxian expedition in conjunction with Aristagoras, V. 32 seqq.

Ἀχαιμένης. Cf. ch. 7.

9. οἱ δύο, 'the other two'. Cf. ch. 29 (12) n.

10. ἐγκυροί. Open vessels propelled by oars, invented by the Cyprians; used for trading purposes as well as in war.

11. συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, 'assembled for the muster'; cf. ch. 60, ὅσον ἕκαστοι παρείχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν. Xen. An. VII. 1. 11, ὅς ἂν μὴ παρῇ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, and supra ch. 59, ἀριθμὸν ποιεῖσθαι. Schweighäuser joins ἐς τ. ἀρ. with τρισχίλια, 'ter mille numero'.

For ἐφάνη, 'proved to be', 'were made out to be', cf. ch. 60.

98 3. Σιδώνιος. Cf. VIII. 67, ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς. At the council of war before Salamis, he filled the most honourable seat after Xerxes.

4. Σιρώμων. Probably the same name as Hiram.

Ἀρᾶδιος. Aradus, or Aroad, one of the oldest Phoenician cities, lay on the coast, considerably to the N. of Sidon.

Μέρβαλος. Another form of Maherbal.

5. Σύνενεσις. Probably the title of the kings of Cilicia, being applied to all those mentioned in history. This king fell at Salamis fighting bravely, πρῶτος ἐς εὐψυχίαν...ἐς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον | ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο, Pers. 326.

6. Γόργος. Gorgos, king of Salamis, had fled to Persia when, at his brother Onesilus' instigation, Cyprus joined the Ionian Revolt, V. 104. On the suppression of the rebellion he was reinstated.

8. **Ἰσπτιάτος**. King of Termera, a Carian city lying opposite the island of Cos. He was seized by Aristagoras before the outbreak of the Revolt, v. 37, but had evidently regained his position.

9. **Δαμασίθυμος**. King of Calynda, on the Carian frontier. For his fate cf. viii. 87.

3. **ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος**. Cf. ch. 96.

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Ἀρτεμισίης...γυναϊκός. 'But only of Artemisia, at whom above all I wonder, for having taken part in the expedition against Greece, woman as she was.'

θαῦμα ποιέσθαι is generally followed by an acc. of the thing wondered at, cf. viii. 74; sometimes coupled with a gen. of the person in whom, ix. 58, θ. π. τὸ ἀρωγῆσαι τοῦ Ἀρταβάζου. Here the acc. is replaced by an explanatory partic. **στρατεύσαμένης γυναϊκός** = τὸ στρατεύσασθαι γυναῖκα (εἶδον).

For **θαῦμα ποιέσθαι** = **θαυμάζειν**, cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

According to the account of Suidas, Herodotus was driven from Halicarnassus by the tyranny of Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia; if this be true, he shows singular impartiality towards the family. The queen is frequently mentioned in Bk. viii.

12. **Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων**. Nisyrus and Calynda were two small islets on either side of Cos; they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, II. ii. 676.

16. **τῶν δὲ...αὐτῇν**, 'of the cities which I have enumerated as under her rule'. Cf. ch. 115.

19. **ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε...εἴρηται**. 'So much for an account of the naval force.' For similar expressions dismissing a subject, cf. viii. 125, ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο. ix. 18, τὰ...μὲν ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο.

1. **ἡρμμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη**. The mss. give **ἡρίθμησε**, 100 but the change of subject in that case would be impossibly harsh, far harsher than that of ch. 88 (8), and the confusion may be partly due to the following **ἐπεθύμησε**.

2. **διεξέλδρας**. Notice the prepositions; *driving right through*, **ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἐσχάτα**. *to aspect*

5. **ἐπυνθάνετο**, 'pursued his inquiries'. The tense marks

repetition. *πυνθάνεσθαι* is usually fol. by a dir. acc. of clause with *ὅτι*.

ἀπέγραφον, 'made a report'. Below, the middle is used in a *causative* sense, 'having a report made'. Cf. the Attic *ἀπογραφῇ*, 'register', or 'report of a deposition'.

12. *τὰς νέας ἀνεκώχουν*. Cf. ch. 36 (8) n.

15. *μετωπηδόν*, 'in line' (so *μετωπηδὸν πλεῖν, ἐπιπλεῖν*), the ships being *ἀντίπρωροι*, viii. 11, as opposed to *ἐπὶ κέρως*, 'in column'; cf. Thucyd. ii. 90.

17. *ἐντὸς* = *μεταξύ*.

101 2. *Δημάρητον*. Cf. ch. 3.

5. *τι...τὰ θέλω*. Cf. ch. 16 (27), 52 (4).

10. *χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενοι*. Cf. ch. 143, 212, and viii. 140, *πόλεμον ἀνταειρόμενοι*.

οὐ γὰρ...οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι. Tr. 'For indeed, as I think, though all the Greeks and all the other dwellers to the westward should muster their forces (i.e. separately), they are too weak to withstand my onset, if not united by one bond'.

14. *μὴ ὄντες ἄρθμοι* must be a supposition, or *οὐ* would have been used. Cf. ix. 9, 'Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἔδντων μὴ ἄρθμῶν, 'if the Athenians are not leagued with us', in contrast to ib. 37, *ἐς Τεγέαν ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἄρθμήν*, 'which was not in league with', &c.

τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, 'your opinion'. Cf. i. 159, *πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ*, 'your command' (of the oracle), and ix. 7, *τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων*, 'our conduct'.

17. *κότρεα...ἤδονῃ*. 'Shall my answer be the truth, or what will please you?' Or, more freely, 'Shall I aim at the truth, or at your gratification?'

19. *δηδέσπερον*, sc. *μιν*, Demaratus.

102 2. *ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως*, 'on no account to speak anything but the truth'.

3. *τὰ μὴ...ἀλώσεται*, i.e. *τὰ λέγων τις μὴ...ἀλώσεται*. Tr. freely: 'such statements as shall not cause you hereafter to convict the speaker of falsehood'. With this indefinite use of *τις* for *ἐγώ*, cf. ch. 48 n.

5. *σύντροφος*, lit. 'brought up with'; hence, living with,

habitual. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 40, ἄλλο τι δὴ τῶν ξυντροφῶν τι, 'something out of the ordinary'.

6. **ἔπακτος**, 'imported', used specially of a foreign ally. Both Poverty and Valour are almost personified. ἀρετή is 'valour' in a wide sense, the persistent energy that is ready to battle with every difficulty and face every danger.

ἀπὸ...ισχυροῦ, 'the product of culture and binding law'.

11. **ἔρχομαι λέγων**. Cf. ch. 49 n.

τοῦδε τοὺς λόγους, 'what I am going to say'.

15. **καὶ ἢν**, 'even supposing that', implying that there is little likelihood in the supposition. Distinguish from *ei* (ἢν) *καὶ*, "'granting that', where the speaker admits that a condition exists, but denies that it is an obstacle. Cf. Soph. El. 547, *ei* καὶ σὴς δίχα γνώμης λέγω" (Jebb, Soph. O. T. 305).

16. **τὰ σὺ φρονέωσι**. τὰ τινος φρονεῖν is the regular expression for 'supporting a person's cause'. Cf. ii. 162, *οἱ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνουν*. *Infra* ch. 145, 172, τὰ ἀμείνω φρονέειν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 'to be well affected to the cause of Greece'.

ἀριθμοῦ...εἰσι. 'As for numbers, do not ask how many they are that it is possible for them to act thus.'

18. **ἢν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι χίλιοι**. 'If there be precisely 1000, &c.' τυγχάνειν often retains an idea of exactitude and coincidence from its original sense of *hitting the mark*. Cf. *supra* 3, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸντὸ ἀναβεβηκώς, of coincidence in time; ix. 64, οὗτοι γὰρ σφί τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες, of identity. Cf. viii. 102.

19. **ἢν τε καὶ πλεῖνες**, added to complete the symmetry of the sentence, though it does not strengthen the sense.

2. **οἷον ἐφθέγγαστο ἔπος**. We are reminded of the Homeric ποῖόν λειπες; ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; Hdt. is frequently carried into Epic style, when the scene is dramatic or the subject inspiring. Cf. ch. 38 (the prayer of Pythius), ch. 159 (the Spartan envoy's exclamation).

3. **ἀνδρας...μαχέσασθαι**, exclamatory. Cf. Dem. xxi. 582, τοῦτον δὲ ὑβρίζειν, ἀναπνεῖν δέ. Cf. Gdw., § 104.

6. **καὶ τοι**. 'And yet', assuming a negative answer to the preceding question. Cf. ch. 46 note on γάρ.

τὸ πολιτικόν=οἱ πολῖται, hence ἐκείνων following.

9. **κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους**. Probably a reference to

the double share of sacrificial meat, which was the king's prerogative. VI. 57.

11. σὺ δέ γε. For δέ in apodosis cf. ch. 51 n.

δίζημαι. 'I demand'; usually to seek out, inquire into; cf. ch. 142, γινώμαι διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, i.e. its meaning. Xerxes is speaking roughly, as is clear from what follows. B. suggests that he had the 10,000 Immortals in his mind.

12. ὀρθοῖτ' ἄν. Lit. 'would stand', i.e. be correct; cf. ὀρθῶ λόγῳ = truly. The special sense of uprightness or straightness sometimes becomes merged in that of general correctness and success. Cf. I. 208, ἦν ἡ διάβασις μὴ ὀρθωθῇ.

13. παρὰ σέυ. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

14. μεγάθεα. 'In stature', lit. in your respective statures, more exact than the English singular. Cf. III. 107, ὅφεις μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα. Thuc. VII. 55, πόλεσι μεγέθη ἐχούσαις. The singular, however, is more common. Cf. II. 121 &c.

16. μάτην κόμπος. μάτην, an adverb, modifies the verbal notion in κόμπος (= κομπεόμενον). Cf. Aesch. Ag. 165, τὸ μάταν ἄχθος (what weighs down without purpose), vain burden.

ῥα μὴ...εἴη. Optat. instead of Subj., probably through the influence of the preceding ὀρθοῖτ' ἄν, with which μάτην...εἴη is contrasted.

17. ἐπεὶ. This argumentative ἐπεὶ, introducing a challenge or question, to corroborate the speaker's assertion, is very common in tragedy. Cf. Soph. El. 352, ἐπεὶ διδάξον. O. T. 390. O. C. 969.

παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι, 'in all probability'; cf. ch. 167, οἰκότι χρεωμένων.

18. χῶλοι. Cf. ch. 186, where the Persian warrior host is estimated at over 2½ millions.

26. ἀναιμένοι ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον, 'given up to freedom'. Cf. II. 167, of a warrior caste, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναιμένους. Ib. 173, ἐς παιγνίην ἐωντὸν ἀνιέναι. Thucyd. II. 39, ἀναιμένως διαιτώμενοι.

29. ἀλλὰ, 'No', 'on the contrary'.

30. τοῦτο, i.e. τὸ πλεόντων ἀνταγίους εἶναι.

104 2. ἀρχήθεν, common in Hdt.: used occasionally in poetry, never in Attic prose.

5. τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιάτησι. 'The actual facts touching

the Spartans', what is really present to them; cf. viii. 19, τοῖσι κατήκουσι πράγμασι, and ib. 40, 102. The later sense, of fitness or duty, is not found in Hdt.

6. τὰ νῦν τάδε, lit. 'as regards the present', i.e. 'at this present time'; acc. of respect used adverbially, found also in tragedy; cf. Soph. O. C. 133, τὰ δὲ νῦν. El. 215, τὰ παρόντ'.

10. βίον. Cf. ch. 28.

11. τὸν σώφρονα, i.e. the *typical* prudent man, representative of a class, and hence one of that class.

14. δυοῖσι. Cf. ch. 49 (15).

ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. So too, ch. 143, τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι. i. 153, τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. Also, τὸ νῦν εἶναι, κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶναι. The infinitive has generally a *limiting* force, 'willingly, at least'; 'now, at any rate'. Cf. the similar infinitives ch. 24 (1) n. ἐκὼν εἶναι is regularly found with a neg. only, but see ch. 164.

17. οἱ ἑκαστός φησι. The verb is attracted, to agree with the singular standing next to it.

21. πάντα, 'in all respects'.

ἔπεισι... νόμος. Cf. iii. 38, ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι, νόμον πάντων βασιλεῖα φήσας εἶναι.

23. γῶν, Att. γοῦν, lit. 'at any rate', is here used idiomatically to introduce one illustration of a general statement (ὑποδειμαίνουσι) preceding. Cf. Thucyd. i. 1, διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς... τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν... διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων. Ib. 75, 76, πᾶσι δ' ἀνεπίφθορον... Τμεῖς γοῦν. Ib. vi. 59.

24. οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν... ἀλλὰ... ἀπόλλυσθαι. κελεύων or some such word must be supplied after ἀλλὰ out of οὐκ ἐὼν. Cf. ch. 143.

27. σιγᾶν. Here transitive, like σιωπᾶν. Cf. v. 21, ὁ θάνατος ἐσιγήθη.

1. ἐς γέλωτα... ἔτραψε, 'turned it off into a laugh', 'made a 105 jest of it'; cf. Thucyd. vi. 35, ἐς γέλωτα ἔτρεπον τὸ πᾶν (Abicht). Bähr reads ἐτρέφατο, 'had recourse to laughter'. Cf. ch. 209 (Demaratus to Xerxes), γέλωτά με ἔθεν. For text see Errata.

5. ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. Resuming the account of the march from ch. 59.

7. καταπαύσας, sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς. Cf. iv. 1, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους.

- 106 7. *ἔτι πρότερον*, after the Scythian campaign, iv. 143, v. 25, and by Mardonius, vi. 45.
 11. *ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων*, under Athenian command.
 13. *ἰδυνάσθησαν*. This form is also found in Xenophon, instead of the regular Attic *ἐδυνήθησαν*.
- 107 8. *παρεὼν...ἐξελθεῖν*. Cf. ch. 95 (11) n.
 10. *δειλὴν περιεῖναι*. Instrumental, of cause; cf. Thucyd. vii. 84, *ἡπείγοντο τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ*.
 17. *ἑωτὸν ἐπέβαλε*, 'threw himself after the others etc.' Eïon was taken between 476 and 466 B.C. According to the improbable account of Pausanias (cf. Thucyd. i. 98), Cimon succeeded by turning the force of the river-current upon the brick walls of the city.
- 108 4. *ὡς καὶ πρότερον κ.τ.λ.* Cf. ch. 106.
 9. *πεπόλισται πόλις*. Cf. ch. 59 (13).
 10. *ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης*. Cf. ch. 5 (7) n.
 12. *οὐκ ἀντίσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων*. Cf. ch. 43 (5).
 15. *τῷ δικαιωτάτῳ τῶν λόγων*. Cf. ch. 104, *τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους*.
 16. *καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων*, i.e. as well as the plain of Doriscus; cf. ch. 59.
- 109 4. *Ἀβδηρα*. Founded by the fugitive Teians, at the time of Cyrus' conquest of Ionia, i. 168; site uncertain.
 7. *Ἰσμαρίδα*. No longer in existence.
 12. *ἰὼν παρήϊε*, 'he passed in his course'; cf. ch. 10 (7).
 13. *ὥσει...μάλιστά κη*. Cf. ch. 30, *ὡς πέντε μάλιστά κη*. There are still salt lakes in the neighbourhood, but the exact site of Pistyrus is uncertain (R.).
 18. *ἐξ εὐνύμου χαρὸς ἀπέργων*. Cf. ch. 43, *ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἀπέργων*.
- 110 3. *Κίκονες*. Cf. ch. 59 note.
 4. *Δερσαῖοι*. Mentioned by Thucyd. ii. 101, as an independent tribe.
Ἡδωνοί. Cf. ch. 114.
 5. *κατοικημένοι*. *οἰκεῖν* and *κατοικεῖν* are used as follows:
 I. *Transitive*: (a) *to inhabit* (a place), found (a city), vii. 164, *κατοίκησε πόλιν*. Pass. i. 142, *αὐται (αἱ πόλεις) ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικῆνται*, and ib. *νήσους οἰκέαται (αἱ πόλεις)*, vii. 22.

(b) to settle (a community), hence pass. to be settled, dwell, as here; ch. 9, τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους, i. 96, ii. 102, v. 73 etc.

II. Neuter: (a) of cities, or places. ii. 166, οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκίει.

(b) of persons, i. 56, (τὸ ἔθνος) ἄκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ.

4. μούνοι Θρηίκων. A number of the Thracian tribes 111 were subsequently included in the empire of the Odrysian Sitalkes, Thucyd. ii. 95 sqq.

5. ἔθνη παντοίῃσι, 'with timber of all kinds'. Cf. i. 110, iv. 109. ἔθνη is an Ionic word: in iv. 109 it is used in the sing. of a wood, and in this sense it is found in Theocritus, xvii. 9.

6. τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. Cf. ch. 5, Εὐρώπῃ ἀρετὴν ἄκρη.

8. τὸ μαντήιον, 'the famous oracle' (cf. ch. 27, τῇ πλάτανιστῳ), referred to by Euripides, Hec. 1267, ὁ Θρηξὶ μάντις Διδυσοῦς. The Thracian people worshipped Ares, Dionysus or Bassareus (Hor. Od. i. 18) and Artemis alone; their kings paid special honour to Hermes, Hdt. v. 7.

9. Βησσὸι δὲ...χρῆουσα, 'of the Satrians the Bessi publish the oracles, but it is a prophetess who delivers them'.

The Bessi, here referred to as a section of the Satrian race, are mentioned by Pliny and Livy as a distinct tribe (R.).

πρόμαντις and προφήτης both meant originally one who declares, or interprets, the will of Heaven to man; so Apollo is addressed as πρόμαντι, being called elsewhere Διὸς προφήτης πατρός. In viii. 135 both terms are applied to the Priest of the Ptoian Apollo.

The word πρόμαντις is, however, used specially of the inspired priestess who uttered responses (χρᾶν), under direct influence of the deity, in contrast to the προφήτης or προφῆται, who arranged her words in metric form and declared them to the inquirers.

11. οὐδὲν τοικιλότερον, sc. χρᾶ.

1. τὴν ἐρημένην, sc. χώραν.

2. δεύτερα τούτων, 'next after these'; ch. 80 (7) n.

3. τὰ Πιέρων. Pieria, the legendary home of the Muses, lying between the Peneus and Haliacmon, had been occupied by the Macedonians, who drove the Pierians thence to the

district round Pangæum, where Phagres became their capital, Thucyd. ii. 99.

τῶν καὶ ἐνί. See ch. 31 (5) n.

8. μέταλλα. These mines, which at one time yielded a talent of silver a day, v. 17, made the possession of the district a matter of eager contest in the Peloponnesian War, Thucyd. iv. 105, and in later history.

- 113 2. Δόβηρας τε καὶ Παιόπλας. The Doberian and Odomantian Paconians had held out against Megabazus. The Paecoplans he transported in great numbers to Asia, by command of Darius, v. 15, 16, after the Scythian campaign.

3. παρξίων. As R. observes, part of the army appears to have marched north, part south of Pangæum; cf. ch. 121.

11. ἐς τὸν ἐκαλλιπρόντο. καλλιπρέσθαι = θέσθαι (cf. ch. 167, and vi. 82, where the omens were *not* good), to take the auspices. The *active* is used of obtaining *good* omens (Xen., Theocr.), though not by Hdt., who employs this form intransitively of an auspicious sacrifice itself, ix. 19 καλλιησάντων τῶν ἱρώων, and more often without subject expressed, *infr.* ch. 134, καλλιηῆσαι οὐκ ἔδυνατο. ix. 38, 96.

12. σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 37, where Tiridates the Parthian sacrifices a horse before crossing the Euphrates; the custom is also described by Strabo. Cf. II. xxi. 130, of the Trojans:—

οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμός περ ἑύρροος, ἀργυροδίνης,
ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθλετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

- 114 1. φαρμακεύσαντες ταῦτα. ταῦτα 'internal acc.', i.e. denoting the process resulting from the action of the verb.

3. ἐν Ἐννείᾳ Ὀδοσί. The site of Amphipolis, finally founded by the Athenians B.C. 437, after Herodotus had retired to Thurii. Previous attempts to establish a colony, on the part of Aristagoras of Miletus after the Ionian Revolt, and of Athens in 466, had been frustrated by the Edonians, Thucyd. i. 100, iv. 102. The very name of the spot suggests that it was an important position.

9. τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν. This barbarity, practised by Cambyses upon twelve Persian nobles, iii. 35, was known as

'tree planting', and continued to be a form of punishment in Persia till recent times (R.). It is said to be still in existence in Morocco.

12. ὑπὸ γῆν. For acc. after ὑπὸ, without idea of motion, but rather of *extension under*, cf. ch. 108 and v. 11, τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν ἄρκτον. Thucyd. ii. 17, τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἀκρόπολιν.

ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, explained by ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς. The offering was to propitiate the god of Death in her own stead (ἀντι-), and to procure an extension of her life.

3. Ἄργυλον. Argilus, Stagirus, and Acanthus were all 115 Andrian colonies which sided with Brasidas B.C. 424, Thucyd. iv. 83, 88, 103. Stagirus is famous as the birthplace of Aristotle.

5. Βισαλτῆ. The Bisaltian king refused submission to Persia; cf. viii. 116.

6. ἐπὶ Ποσειδηίου, 'by Poseideium', or, as we should say, 'of Poseideium'.

11. τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα=τούτων ᾧ. Cf. ch. 99, also vi. 109, τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία, and iv. 114, τούτων οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν.

2. ξεινίην προείπε, 'proclaimed a league of friendship'; cf. 116 ch. 9, πόλεμον προειπεῖν. Others tr. 'gave notice to prepare hospitality', but such orders would have preceded the arrival of the army; cf. ch. 32.

4. ἱσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. The present of Median garments was a mark of high honour; cf. iii. 84. Gifts of raiment were customary in the East, and are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.

6. τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων, i.e. περὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος. The Acanthians were among those περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι who worked at the canal; cf. ch. 22.

6. ἀπὸ...δακτύλους, nearly 8 ft. 4 in. The royal cubit was 117 about 20½ in. in length, being greater than the ordinary or μέτρος πηχὺς of i. 178.

7. φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων. Darius was accompanied in his Scythian campaign by an Egyptian claiming the same distinction, of whom he made practical use in summoning his fleet to the shore, iv. 141.

9. *ἐφένεкаи*. Cf. Lat. *efferre*. The Persians buried their dead encased in wax, I. 140.

11. *ἐκ θεοπροπίου*, 'at the command of an oracle': the phrase occurs frequently; cf. ch. 189.

Philippus, *ἑὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης κ. κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἑωυτὸν*, received similar honours from the Eggestaeans, v. 47.

12. *ἔπουνονμάζοντες τὸ ὄνομα*, 'calling the while on his name', cf. iv. 35.

118 3. *ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο*. Cf. viii. 52, *ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ ἀπιγμένον*. Cf. also Demosth., *ἐς πᾶν προέρχεσθαι (προβαίνειν) μοχθηρίας* etc.

4. *ἀνάστατοι*. Cf. ch. 56 (9) n.

δκου γε, 'seeing that'; cf. ch. 160. *δπου* in this sense is found occasionally in Attic.

8. *δόκιμος ὁμοία τῇ μάλιστα*, sc. *δοκίμῃ*. Cf. iii. 57, *θησαυρὸς* (sc. *πλούσιος*) *ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις*, and for the adv. *ὁμοία* cf. inf. ch. 120.

ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δαῖπνον—τετελεισμένα. 'Reported as spent upon the banquet.' For another meaning, 'to appoint, nominate', cf. ch. 2, 81, 154. *ἀποφαίνειν* is also used in both these senses, of a financial report, and an appointment. The Attic idiomatic use of *ἀποδεικνύειν*, *ἀποφαίνειν*, to *make* or *render*, is rare in Hdt., but cf. iii. 134, *ὥς μιν ἰώμενος ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε*.

9. *τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου*. "A sum not far short of the whole annual revenue received by Athens from her allies under the rating of Aristides." (R.)! The 400 talents are estimated as equal to nearly £100,000 of our coinage, though comparisons of this sort are apt to be misleading; cf. ch. 28 n.

119 1. *ὥς δὲ παραπλησίως*. The pleonasm is probably formed on the analogy of *ὥσαντις* from *ὁ αὐτός*. Stein compares *ὥς δὲ—τοιαῦτα*, iii. 13; *ὥσαύτως—ταῦτά*, iii. 99; *ὥσαύτως—τῇ ὁμοίῃν*, vi. 62.

3. *τοιόνδε τι*. Refers to the following description, *τοῦτο μὲν, κ.τ.λ.* *οἷα* to be taken closely with the participle; cf. ch. 6, *οἷα ἐπιθυμητῆς ἑὼν*, and ch. 23 (12) n.

9. *τιμῆς*, 'at a high price'. *τιμῇ* and *ἀξία* both mean cost or price, the former drawing attention to the amount of the sum, the latter to the worth of the article. Hence, while both

τίμος and ἄξιος signify valuable, τίμος has the special sense of dear (cf. III. 23), ἄξιος of cheap, i.e. well worth the price.

11. ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ. Thucyd. has ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος in a very different sense, of a hostile reception, VII. 74.

13. ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας. ποτήρια, the several drinking cups; κρητῆρ, the general mixing bowl.

ἐποιεῦντο. Causative, 'they caused to be made'; cf. ch. 100, ἀπογραφόμενοι.

15. τοῖσι δμοσίτοισι. To be δμοσίτος (i.q. σύσσιτος, δημοτράπεζος) with the King was granted as a special honour to Democedes, the physician, III. 132, and Histiaeus, v. 24.

17. μούνα, sc. ἐπεκρίθητο. τασσόμενα with τὰ ἐς φορβήν.

ὅκως δὲ ἀπῆλθοιτο ἡ στρατιή, 'whenever the army arrived anywhere;' cf. ch. 6 (24) n. Notice the iterative tenses, corresponding to the opt. of indefinite frequency; cf. ch. 41.

ὅκως, or ὅπως, for ὅποτε, esp. with optat. of indef. freq., is common in Hdt., and found in Homer and Attic poetry.

18. ἐς τῆν, pregnant; cf. ch. 37 (9) n. For σταθμ. ποιε. cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

21. ὥρη. Cf. 50 (26) n.

δεκόμενοι ἔχουσιν πόνον, 'would busy themselves in entertaining them'. Cf. I. 150, τὰ αἰπώλια συναλλίσας ἔθνε κ. παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν.

23. τὰ ἔπιπλα. A wide term, including all moveable property.

ἀνασπᾶσαντες—οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, 'would not march off, till they had'. οὕτω frequently points back to a participle or temporal clause, and may mean either simply, 'this being the case', 'under these circumstances', or, as here, 'then and not till then', Lat. *tum demum*; cf. ch. 2, 155, 170, VIII. 61 etc.

2. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, a 'bon mot'.

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9. σίτον αἰρέσθαι. Cf. IV. 128, σῖτα ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοι, and Hom. δόρπον or δειπνον ἐλέσθαι.

παρέχεν κ.τ.λ. 'It would have lain before them to', i.e. would have been their fate. παρέχει impers. usually means 'it is possible'; cf. VIII. 30, 75, 100.

The Oratio Obliqua expresses the belief of Μεγαροπον.

10. ὁμοία. Ch. 118.

13. ὁμόως, 'none the less'.

121 2. τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν. Subject to ὑπομένειν. Cf. ch. 124. τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, to the commanders (of the fleet).

στρατηγός (στρατός, δῖω) is not necessarily a military term any more than στρατός is necessarily an army; the original meaning of the latter word is 'multitude', 'host'. This sense is clear in Pindar, whose λάβρος στρατός is the 'fierce democracy', as distinguished from τυραννίς on the one hand and αἰ σοφοί (aristocracy) on the other.

3. ἀπῆκε πορεύεσθαι. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n. 'Dismissed the fleet to sail' (for sailing).

4. Θέρμη δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'viz. Therma etc.' For the explanatory δέ, cf. ch. 8, 'Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ. Aesch. Pers. 152, μήτηρ βασιλέως, βασιλεία δ' ἐμή.

The name Therma was afterwards changed to Thessalonica.

6. συντομώτατον, 'the shortest way'; cf. v. 17, ἔστι... σύντομος (sc. ὁδός), and iv. 136, τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ.

9. τρεῖς μοῖρας δασάμενος. Cognate acc. With verbs of dividing, four constructions are used:—

(1) with a prep.; cf. iv. 148, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἐξ μοῖρας διείλον.

(2) with acc. of the parts, gen. of that divided, i. 94, δύο μοῖρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων.

(3) with double acc. (one being cognate), as here. Pl. Pol. 283 D, διέλωμεν αὐτὴν δύο μέρη.

(4) with cogn. acc. replaced by an adverb, iii. 39, τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν.

13. τριτημορίς, common form τριτημέριον.

τὴν μεσόγαιαν, sc. ὁδόν. Cf. ch. 124, τὴν μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ. v. 83, τῆς χώρας, a parallel constr. to τὸν πολὺν τοῦ χρόνου. Although, like many others, used substantively in the fem., the word is properly an adj. (cf. βαθύγαιος, Att. βαθύγεις, λεπτόγεις). Cf. i. 145, μεσόγαιοι οἰκεῖν. The acc. here is therefore cognate, like τὸ μέσον (= τὴν μέσην ὁδόν) infra.

17. παρείχετο. Cf. ch. 61 (10) n.

122 8. κάμπτων. Lit. making a bend round, here 'doubling'

(the cape), *supra* ch. 58, 'sailing round' (the bay). Frequently of turning round the post in a race-course; cf. Aesch. Ag. 344, *κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν*.

10. *παρελάμβανε*, 'received in succession'; the tense marks repetition.

11. *Ὀλυνθον*. Of these cities by far the most famous was the ill-starred Olynthus, now in the hands of the Bottiaeans, but soon to be given over to the Chalcidians, viii. 127, who afterwards fortified it as their capital, at the instance of Perdiccas. The independence of the city was secured by Brasidas, and the influence it subsequently gained moved the jealousy of Sparta, with which it warred 382—379 B.C. In 348, after its celebrated resistance, Olynthus met its fate at the hands of Philip of Macedon.

12. *Σιθωνίη*. Horace and Virgil use 'Sithonian', generally, for 'Thracian'.

4. *ἀνέχει*, 'juts out', i.e. *προέχει, πρόκειται*.

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6. *Πισιδίης*. A Corinthian colony, famous for its revolt from Athens B.C. 432.

7. *Σκιώνης*. This town was, according to tradition, founded by Pellenians from the Peloponnese, stranded here on their return from Troy; its citizens joined Brasidas, Thucyd. iv. 120, as well as those of Mende, an Eretrian colony. Sané must be distinguished from the other town of that name.

9. *Φλέγγην*. The scene of the legendary contest between Heracles and the giants, Pindar N. i. 100.

11. *Δίπατος—Αἴνεια*. Places of small importance; the foundation of the last was ascribed to Aeneas, Livy xi. 4.

15. *Κροσσαίη*. The *Κρουσις* of Thucyd. ii. 79.

18. *τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον*. Hdt. uses the name in a more confined sense than most writers.

22. *Ἄξιον*. Cf. Il. ii. 850, *Ἄξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν*.

23. *Βοττιαῖδα*. The inhabitants of this tract had been driven out by the Macedonians, to take refuge on the borders of Chalcidice and Pallene, viii. 127; Thucyd. ii. 99.

24. *Πέλλα*. Pella, which became the capital of Macedonia under Philip, lay inland; Ichnae, probably, on the coast.

- 124 4. *ἑστρατοπεδεύετο*, 'lay at anchor'. Cf. viii. 94, for *στρατόπεδον*, fleet.
 5. *τὴν μεσόγειαν τέμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ*. Cf. ch. 121 (13) n.
 8. *Κρηστωνικῆς*, the *Κρηστωνία* of Thucyd. ii. 99.
- 125 1. *οἱ*. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.
 4. *ἦθεα*. Ch. 10 (83) n.
 5. *οἱ δέ*. Ch. 6 (28) n.
 6. *ἐκράϊζον*. The word has a wide meaning, being also used of ravaging dwellings, disabling ships, and carrying off plunder.
 8. *τὸ...αὐτοῦ*. For construction cf. 59 (5) n.
- 126 1. *λέοντες—ἄγριοι*. The lions and 'bonasi', or wild oxen, of this district are mentioned by Aristotle, the lions within the very same limits.
 3. *φοιτέοντα*, in trade. Cf. ch. 23 (23) n.
 7. *τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης*. Herodotus the Halicarnassian regards Europe as approached from the east.
- 127 4. *τοσὴνδε*, explained by *ἀρξάμενος*—'Ἀλιάκμονος'. Cf. ch. 36 (4) n. (Stein).
 8. *τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες*. This is no longer the case: the channels have shifted, and the Lydias now joins the Axios.
 12. *ἐπέλιπε*. Ch. 43 n.
- 128 2. *τόν τε Οἷλυμπον κ.τ.λ.* 9754 and 6398 ft. high respectively. Both mountains are plainly visible from Therma on a clear day, and present a striking appearance. Below, *αὐλῶνα στεινὸν* is the famous gorge of Tempe, proverbial for its beauty.
 9. *Περραιβοῦς*. Mentioned by Thucyd., iv. 78, as *ὑπὴρκοι δυντες Θεσσαλῶν*.
Γόννον πόλιν. Mentioned by Livy as a position of great strength, *in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae Tempe appellantur, situm*, xxxvi. 16.
 10. *ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι*. Cf. ch. 121, *ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐκυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι*.
ὥς δέ κ.τ.λ., cf. viii. 64. The idiom is very common in both Thucyd. and Hdt. *ὥς* in the first clause is answered by *ταῦτα*, instead of *οὕτω*, in the second.
 The imperf. is 'inceptive', 'he set about doing'.

11. **ἐσβάς**. For the asyndeton cf. ch. 8 (25). *ἐσβάς κ.τ.λ.* is epexegetical of *ἐπόλεε ταῦτα*.

16. **ἐν θωύματι μεγάλην ἐνέσχετο**. 'He was possessed with etc.' Cf. viii. 135, *ἐν θωύματι ἐχέσθαι*. Also without preposition viii. 52, *ἀπορίησι ἐνέχουσιν*. Or with *ὑπὸ* and the gen.; cf. ch. 233, *ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι*, and even with *περί*, iii. 50, *περί θυμῷ ἐχόμενος*.

18. **ἔστι** = *ἔξεστι*. Cf. ii. 160, (*ἐκέλευον*)...*Ἥλειων μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι*.

2. **ὥστε συγκεκλημένην**. Cf. ch. 23 n.

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4. **ἔχοντα**, 'stretching'. Cf. i. 64, *ἐπ' ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε*.

9. **τὸ μέσον**. Cf. ch. 11, *τὸ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐστὶ*.

10. **κοίλη**. Cf. viii. 13, *τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης*, and the expressions *κοίλη Λακεδαιμῶν*, *κοῖλον Ἄργος*, referring to their low-lying sites.

16. **ὀνομαζόμενοι**, 'with distinctive names', opp. to *ἄνωνόμους*. So *infra* *ὀνομαζέσθαι*. Tr.: 'These rivers then, flowing down, each with its special name, from the mountains enclosing Thessaly, to meet in the plain, discharge into the sea with united streams through a single, and that a narrow, channel'. The sense is somewhat obscured by the three consecutive participles without conjunction.

24. **τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην**. 'Lake Boebeis is the modern Lake Karla,...has no outlet to the sea, and varies greatly in its dimensions at different seasons, being derived chiefly from the overflowing of the Peneus' (R.)

οὔτε—τε. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n. Here the meaning of *οὔτε—τε* is rather different, 'were not (named) and yet (flowed etc.)'.

27. **Ποσειδέων**. The statement of Hdt. regarding the Thessalian belief is confirmed by the scholiast on Pind. P. iv. 138, who refers Poseidon's name *Πετραῖος* to his action in Tempe.

30. **τὴν γῆν σείειν**, as declared in the titles *ἐννοσίγαιος*, *ἐνοσίχθων*, *σεισίχθων*, *τῶνδε γαίης*.

32. **ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ...οὐρέων**. The view of Hdt., and the tradition that Thessaly was at one time a lake, is in accordance with modern scientific ideas.

- 130 4. **ποταμῷ τούτῳ**. For the omission of the article, by no means common, cf. ch. 49, *στρατὸν τούτων*. viii. 65, *στρατιῆς τῆςδε*, which occur, as here, in a conversation.

5. **αὐτῇ**, 'only'. Cf. ch. 49 (10) n.

8. **ταύτ' ἄρα**, 'That then was the reason why'; further explained by *καὶ τὰλλα καὶ οὕτω κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Ar. Ach. 90, *ταύτ' ἄρ' ἐφευγάκιζες*, and esp. Eq. 125, *ταύτ' ἄρ' ἐφυλάττου πάλαι—τὸν χρησ-μὸν ὀρρωδῶν*, where *ἐφυλάττου* is used absolutely, as here *ἐφυλά-ξαντο*, 'shewed caution'. See Shilleto, *De Falsa Leg.* p. 208.

γνωσιμαχείοντες, 'forcing themselves to a confession of their inferiority', doing violence to their feelings (always implying submission); it is hardly possible to give the full meaning more concisely. Cf. viii. 29, where *μὴ δμοιοὶ εἶναι* is added in explanation; cf. also iii. 25, *ἐγνωσιμάχῃ καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν*. Eur. Heracl. 706, *χρὴ γνωσιμαχεῖν σὺν ἡλικίᾳ* 'confess you are too old to fight'; Ar. Av. 555, *κἄν μὴ εὐθὺς γνωσιμαχήσῃ, πόλεμον πρωιδῶν [χρῆ]*, 'if he does not yield to our demands'.

10. **πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μόνον**, 'the only thing necessary would have been'. Cf. ch. 12 (4) n., and for similar use of *ἔργον* i. 17, *ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον*.

13. **ῥέθρων**, 'channels'. Cf. ch. 43. *τούτων*, 'from those', must be supplied before *δι' ὧν*.

14. **ὑπόβρυχα**. Irregular acc. from *ὑπόβρυχος*. Cf. Od. v. 319, *τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόβρυχα θῆκε*, similar to the Homeric acc. *διπτυχα* fr. *διπτυχος*. *ὑποβρύχιος* is the commoner form; cf. i. 189. Some of the mss. here read *ὑποβρυχέα*, as if fr. nom. *ὑποβρυχῆς*. *ἔχοντα ἐς*. Cf. ch. 143, *ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον*. viii. 144, *τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν*.

15. **τούς Ἀλεύω παῖδας**. Ch. 6 n.

17. **δοκέων ἀπὸ παντός κ.τ.λ.** Xerxes was mistaken, chs. 172—4.

- 131 3. **ἔκειρε**, 'was clearing' (of trees, etc.), commonly of a destroying army, viii. 32, 65.

5. **οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες**, from Sardis, ch. 32.

- 132 2. **Θεσσαλοὶ—Ιλαταῖων**. All these tribes were members of the Delphian Amphictyony or Sacred League.

6. **ἐπὶ τούτοις**, 'against these'. Cf. ch. 148, *συνωμόται ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ*.

ἑταμον ὄρκιον. Cf. iv. 201, ix. 26. τέμνειν (σφάγια), to sacrifice (victims, in confirmation of a covenant), came to be used of the oath itself, and is even found with σπονδὰς, Eur. Hel. 123—5; cf. Lat. *foedus ferire*.

The reality of this oath is doubted by some writers; others refer it to a later time, after Plataea, and differ as to its purport. The fact stated by Hdt., however, is perfectly possible, since he reports the terms as general, without specification of the medising States, some of whom did not finally submit to the Persians till after Thermopylae.

9. καταστάντων—πρηγμάτων, 'when their (i.e. the confederates') cause had proved successful'. Cf. ch. 158 and vi. 105, Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων (i.e. after Marathon). Not, as some tr., 'where their (i.e. the medising States') affairs were in good condition', to express which the perfect partic. would have been used: καταστάντων marks action and change, not a state; cf. ch. 29 n.

10. δεκατεύσαι. Commonly translated, 'to exact a tithe from'. As Stein observes, however, this rendering would make the punishment, much more the *threat*, a mild one. He therefore expl. δεκατεῦσαι, 'to devote to the god with their goods and persons'. The expression, as applied to Thebes, became proverbial, and plainly in the stronger, not the weaker, sense; for when B.C. 371, shortly before Leuctra, Thebes had audaciously defied the power of Sparta, the general expectation of her annihilation was expressed in the saying: νῦν ἐλπίς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους, Xen. Hell. vi. 3, 20.

5. τὸ βάραθρον. Known also as τὸ δρυγμα, a deep pit, 133 with spikes projecting from its sides, used for the dead bodies of criminals; hence the executioner's title, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ δρύγματι.

There was a similar hole at Sparta called ὁ Καιδάς, from which Aristomenes the Messenian was said to have escaped miraculously, and into which the Spartans thought of casting the corpse of Pausanias, Thucyd. i. 134.

10. ἀνέθλητον, cf. ch. 88, and 190 n. on ἄχαρις. According to Pausanias, the deed was avenged on the family of Miltiades, the chief instigator to it.

district round Pangaeum, where Phagres became their capital, Thucyd. ii. 99.

τῶν καὶ ἐνί. See ch. 31 (5) n.

8. μέταλλα. These mines, which at one time yielded a talent of silver a day, v. 17, made the possession of the district a matter of eager contest in the Peloponnesian War, Thucyd. iv. 105, and in later history.

- 113 2. Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας. The Doberian and Odomantian Paeonians had held out against Megabazus. The Paeoplians he transported in great numbers to Asia, by command of Darius, v. 15, 16, after the Scythian campaign.

3. παρὲξίων. As R. observes, part of the army appears to have marched north, part south of Pangaeum; cf. ch. 121.

11. ἐς τὸν ἐκαλλιρόντο. καλλιρέσθαι=θύεσθαι (cf. ch. 167, and vi. 82, where the omens were *not* good), to take the auspices. The *active* is used of obtaining *good* omens (Xen., Theocr.), though not by Hdt., who employs this form intransitively of an auspicious sacrifice itself, ix. 19 καλλιρησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, and more often without subject expressed, infr. ch. 134, καλλιρηῆσαι οὐκ ἔδυνατο. ix. 38, 96.

12. σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῦς. Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 37, where Tiridates the Parthian sacrifices a horse before crossing the Euphrates; the custom is also described by Strabo. Cf. II. xxi. 130, of the Trojans:—

οὐδ' ὅμιν ποταμός περ ἑύρροος, ἀργυροδίνης,
ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολλὰς ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
ζωὸς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθιερε μώνυχας ἵππους.

- 114 1. φαρμακεύσαντες ταῦτα. ταῦτα 'internal acc.', i.e. denoting the process resulting from the action of the verb.

3. ἐν Ἐννέα Ὀδοῖσι. The site of Amphipolis, finally founded by the Athenians B.C. 437, after Herodotus had retired to Thurii. Previous attempts to establish a colony, on the part of Aristagoras of Miletus after the Ionian Revolt, and of Athens in 466, had been frustrated by the Edonians, Thucyd. i. 100, iv. 102. The very name of the spot suggests that it was an important position.

9. τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν. This barbarity, practised by Cambyses upon twelve Persian nobles, iii. 35, was known as

'tree planting', and continued to be a form of punishment in Persia till recent times (R.). It is said to be still in existence in Morocco.

12. ὑπὸ γῆν. For acc. after ὑπὸ, without idea of motion, but rather of *extension under*, cf. ch. 108 and v. 11, τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον. Thucyd. ii. 17, τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, explained by ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς. The offering was to propitiate the god of Death in her own stead (ἀντι-), and to procure an extension of her life.

3. Ἀργίλον. Argilus, Stagirus, and Acanthus were all 115 Andrian colonies which sided with Brasidas B.C. 424, Thucyd. iv. 83, 88, 103. Stagirus is famous as the birthplace of Aristotle.

5. Βισαλτῆ. The Bisaltian king refused submission to Persia; cf. viii. 116.

6. ἐπὶ Ποσειδεῖον, 'by Poseideium', or, as we should say, 'of Poseideium'.

11. τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα=τούτων ᾧ. Cf. ch. 99, also vi. 109, τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία, and iv. 114, τούτων οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν.

2. ξεινὴν προειπεῖ, 'proclaimed a league of friendship'; cf. 116 ch. 9, πόλεμον προειπεῖν. Others tr. 'gave notice to prepare hospitality', but such orders would have preceded the arrival of the army; cf. ch. 32.

4. ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. The present of Median garments was a mark of high honour; cf. iii. 84. Gifts of raiment were customary in the East, and are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.

6. τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων, i. q. περὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος. The Acanthians were among those περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι who worked at the canal; cf. ch. 22.

6. ἀπὸ...δακτύλου, nearly 8 ft. 4 in. The royal cubit was 117 about 20½ in. in length, being greater than the ordinary or μέτριος πηχὺς of i. 178.

7. φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων. Darius was accompanied in his Scythian campaign by an Egyptian claiming the same distinction, of whom he made practical use in summoning his fleet to the shore, iv. 141.

9. *ἐξενέκαι*. Cf. Lat. *efferre*. The Persians buried their dead encased in wax, I. 140.

11. *ἐκ θεοπροπίου*, 'at the command of an oracle': the phrase occurs frequently; cf. ch. 189.

Philippus, *ἑὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης κ. κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἑωυτὸν*, received similar honours from the Eggestaeans, v. 47.

12. *ἐπυνομάζοντες τὸ οὖνομα*, 'calling the while on his name', cf. iv. 35.

118 3. *ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο*. Cf. viii. 52, *ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι*. Cf. also Demosth., *ἐς πᾶν προέρχασθαι (προβαίνειν) μοχθηρίας* etc.

4. *ἀνδίστατοι*. Cf. ch. 56 (9) n.

δκου γε, 'seeing that'; cf. ch. 160. *δπου* in this sense is found occasionally in Attic.

8. *δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα*, sc. *δοκίμῳ*. Cf. iii. 57, *θησαυρὸς* (sc. *πλούσιος*) *ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις*, and for the adv. *ὁμοία* cf. inf. ch. 120.

ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον—τετελεσμένα. 'Reported as spent upon the banquet.' For another meaning, 'to appoint, nominate', cf. ch. 2, 81, 154. *ἀποφαίνειν* is also used in both these senses, of a financial report, and an appointment. The Attic idiomatic use of *ἀποδεικνύειν*, *ἀποφαίνειν*, to *make* or *render*, is rare in Hdt., but cf. iii. 134, *ὡς μιν ἰώμενος ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε*.

9. *τετρακδῶντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου*. "A sum not far short of the whole annual revenue received by Athens from her allies under the rating of Aristides." (R.)! The 400 talents are estimated as equal to nearly £100,000 of our coinage, though comparisons of this sort are apt to be misleading; cf. ch. 28 n.

119 1. *ὡς δὲ παραπλήσιως*. The pleonasm is probably formed on the analogy of *ὡσαντῶς* from *ὁ αὐτός*. Stein compares *ὡς δὲ—τοιαῦτα*, iii. 13; *ὡσαύτως—ταῦτά*, iii. 99; *ὡσαύτως—τῇρ ὁμοίῃ*, vi. 62.

3. *τοιόνδε τι*. Refers to the following description, *τοῦτο μὲν, κ.τ.λ.* *οἷα* to be taken closely with the participle; cf. ch. 6, *οἷα ἐπιθυμητῆς ἑὼν*, and ch. 23 (12) n.

9. *τιμῆς*, 'at a high price'. *τιμῇ* and *ἀξία* both mean cost or price, the former drawing attention to the amount of the *sum*, the latter to the worth of the article. Hence, while both

τίμος and ἄξιος signify valuable, τίμος has the special sense of *dear* (cf. III. 23), ἄξιος of *cheap*, i.e. well worth the price.

11. ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ. Thucyd. has ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος in a very different sense, of a hostile reception, VII. 74.

13. ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας. ποτήρια, the several drinking cups; κρητῆρ, the general mixing bowl.

ἐποιεύντο. Causative, 'they caused to be made'; cf. ch. 100, ἀπογραφόμενος.

15. τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι. To be ὁμόσιτος (i.q. σύσιτος, ὁμοτράπεζος) with the King was granted as a special honour to Democedes, the physician, III. 132, and Histiaeus, v. 24.

17. μούνα, sc. ἐπεποίητο. τασσόμενα with τὰ ἐς φορβήν.

ὅκως δὲ ἀπῆλκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, 'whenever the army arrived anywhere'; cf. ch. 6 (24) n. Notice the iterative tenses, corresponding to the opt. of indefinite frequency; cf. ch. 41.

ὅκως, or ὅπως, for ὅποτε, esp. with optat. of indef. freq., is common in Hdt., and found in Homer and Attic poetry.

18. ἐς τῆν, pregnant; cf. ch. 37 (9) n. For σταθμ. ποιε. cf. ch. 58 (6) n.

21. ὥρη. Cf. 50 (26) n.

δεκόμενοι ἔχουσιν πόνον, 'would busy themselves in entertaining them'. Cf. I. 150, τὰ αἰπώλια συναλίσας ἔθνε κ. παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν.

23. τὰ ἔπιπλα. A wide term, including all moveable property.

ἀνασπᾶσαντες—οὕτω ἀπελάνυσκον, 'would not march off, till they had'. οὕτω frequently points back to a participle or temporal clause, and may mean either simply, 'this being the case', 'under these circumstances', or, as here, 'then and not till then', Lat. *tum demum*; cf. ch. 2, 155, 170, VIII. 61 etc.

2. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, a 'bon mot'.

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9. σίτον αἰρέσθαι. Cf. IV. 128, σῖτα ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοι, and Hóm. δόρπον or δειπνον ἐλέσθαι.

παρέχεν κ.τ.λ. 'It would have lain before them to', i.e. would have been their fate. παρέχει impers. usually means 'it is possible'; cf. VIII. 30, 75, 100.

The Oratio Obliqua expresses the belief of Megacles.

10. ὁμοία. Ch. 118.

13. ὁμοίως, 'none the less'.

121 2. τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Subject to ὑπομένειν. Cf. ch. 124. τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, to the commanders (of the fleet).

στρατηγός (στρατός, ἄγω) is not necessarily a military term any more than στρατός is necessarily an army; the original meaning of the latter word is 'multitude', 'host'. This sense is clear in Pindar, whose λάβρος στρατός is the 'fierce democracie', as distinguished from τυραννίς on the one hand and αἱ σοφοί (aristocracy) on the other.

3. ἀπῆκε πορεύεσθαι. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n. 'Dismissed the fleet to sail' (for sailing).

4. Θέρμη δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'viz. Therma etc.' For the explanatory δέ, cf. ch. 8, Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ. Aesch. Pers. 152, μήτηρ βασιλέως, βασιλεία δ' ἐμή.

The name Therma was afterwards changed to Thessalonica.

6. συντομιάτατον, 'the shortest way'; cf. v. 17, ἔστι... σύντομος (sc. ὁδός), and iv. 136, τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ.

9. τρεῖς μοῖρας δασάμενος. Cognate acc. With verbs of dividing, four constructions are used:—

(1) with a prep.; cf. iv. 148, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἑξ μοῖρας διείλον.

(2) with acc. of the parts, gen. of that divided, i. 94, δύο μοῖρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων.

(3) with double acc. (one being cognate), as here. Pl. Pol. 283 D, διέλωμεν αὐτὴν δύο μέρη.

(4) with cogn. acc. replaced by an adverb, iii. 39, τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν.

13. τριτημορίς, common form τριτημόριον.

τὴν μεσόγαιαν, sc. ὁδόν. Cf. ch. 124, τὴν μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ. v. 83, τῆς χώρας, a parallel constr. to τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου. Although, like many others, used substantively in the fem., the word is properly an adj. (cf. βαθύγαιος, Att. βαθύγειος, λεπτόγειος). Cf. i. 145, μεσόγαιαι οἰκέουσι. The acc. here is therefore cognate, like τὸ μέσον (= τὴν μέσην ὁδόν) infra.

17. παρείχετο. Cf. ch. 61 (10) n.

122 8. κάμπτων. Lit. making a bend round, here 'doubling'

(the cape), supra ch. 58, 'sailing round' (the bay). Frequently of turning round the post in a race-course; cf. Aesch. Ag. 344, *κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν*.

10. *παρελάβανε*, 'received in succession'; the tense marks repetition.

11. *Ὀλυνθον*. Of these cities by far the most famous was the ill-starred Olynthus, now in the hands of the Bottiaeans, but soon to be given over to the Chalcidians, viii. 127, who afterwards fortified it as their capital, at the instance of Perdiccas. The independence of the city was secured by Brasidas, and the influence it subsequently gained moved the jealousy of Sparta, with which it warred 382—379 B.C. In 348, after its celebrated resistance, Olynthus met its fate at the hands of Philip of Macedon.

12. *Σιθωνίη*. Horace and Virgil use 'Sithonian', generally, for 'Thracian'.

4. *δνέχει*, 'juts out', i.e. *προέχει, πρόκειται*.

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6. *Ποσειδωνίης*. A Corinthian colony, famous for its revolt from Athens B.C. 432.

7. *Σκιώνης*. This town was, according to tradition, founded by Pellenians from the Peloponnese, stranded here on their return from Troy; its citizens joined Brasidas, Thucyd. iv. 120, as well as those of Mende, an Eretrian colony. Sanè must be distinguished from the other town of that name.

9. *Φλόγγην*. The scene of the legendary contest between Heracles and the giants, Pindar N. i. 100.

11. *Δίταξος—Αἴνεια*. Places of small importance; the foundation of the last was ascribed to Aeneas, Livy xi. 4.

15. *Κροσσάη*. The *Κροσσις* of Thucyd. ii. 79.

18. *τὸν Θερμαίων κόλπον*. Hdt. uses the name in a more confined sense than most writers.

22. *Ἄξιον*. Cf. Il. ii. 850, *Ἄξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν*.

23. *Βοττιαῖα*. The inhabitants of this tract had been driven out by the Macedonians, to take refuge on the borders of Chalcidice and Pallene, viii. 127; Thucyd. ii. 99.

24. *Πέλλα*. Pella, which became the capital of Macedonia under Philip, lay inland; Ichnae, probably, on the coast.

- 124 4. *ἀσπασσάμενοι*, 'lay at anchor'. Cf. VIII. 94, for *σπασσάμενοι*, fleet.
 5. *τὴν μεσόγειον τάμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ*. Cf. ch. 121 (13) n.
 8. *Κρησταινικῆς*, the *Κρησταινία* of Thucyd. II. 99.
- 125 1. *οἱ*. Cf. ch. 16 (3) n.
 4. *ἤθεα*. Ch. 10 (83) n.
 5. *οἱ δὲ*. Ch. 6 (28) n.
 6. *ἐκράϊζον*. The word has a wide meaning, being also used of ravaging dwellings, disabling ships, and carrying off plunder.
 8. *τὸ...αὐτοῦ*. For construction cf. 59 (5) n.
- 126 1. *λέοντες—ἀγριοί*. The lions and 'bonasi', or wild oxen, of this district are mentioned by Aristotle, the lions within the very same limits.
 3. *φοιτῶντα*, in trade. Cf. ch. 23 (23) n.
 7. *τῆς ἐμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης*. Herodotus the Halicarnassian regards Europe as approached from the east.
- 127 4. *τοσύνδε*, explained by *ἀρξάμενος*—'Αλιάκμωνος'. Cf. ch. 86 (4) n. (Stein).
 8. *τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες*. This is no longer the case: the channels have shifted, and the Lydias now joins the Axios.
 12. *ἐπὶ Διπύ*. Ch. 43 n.
- 128 2. *τὸν τε Οὐλύμπον κ.τ.λ.* 9754 and 6398 ft. high respectively. Both mountains are plainly visible from Therma on a clear day, and present a striking appearance. Below, *αὐλῶνα στενὸν* is the famous gorge of Tempe, proverbial for its beauty.
 9. *Περραιβοῦς*. Mentioned by Thucyd., IV. 78, as *ὑπὸ ἡκοῦσιν ὄντες Θεσσαλῶν*.
Γόννον πόλιν. Mentioned by Livy as a position of great strength, *in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae Tempe appellantur, situm*, XXXVI. 16.
 10. *ἀσφαλιστάτον εἶναι*. Cf. ch. 121, *ταύτη γὰρ ἐκπυρσθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι*.
ὥς δὲ κ.τ.λ., cf. VIII. 64. The idiom is very common in both Thucyd. and Hdt. *ὥς* in the first clause is answered by *ταῦτα*, instead of *οὕτω*, in the second.
 The imperf. is 'inceptive', 'he set about doing'.

11. ἐσβάς. For the asyndeton cf. ch. 8 (25). ἐσβάς κ.τ.λ. is expegetical of ἐποίησεν ταῦτα.

16. ἐν θωύματι μεγάλην ἐπέσχετο. 'He was possessed with etc.' Cf. viii. 135, ἐν θωύματι ἐχέσθαι. Also without preposition viii. 52, ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι. Or with ὑπὸ and the gen.; cf. ch. 233, ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι, and even with περί, iii. 50, περί θυμῷ ἐχόμενος.

18. ἔστι=ἐξεστί. Cf. ii. 160, (ἐκέλευον)...Ἡλείων μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

2. ὥστε συγκεκλημένην. Cf. ch. 23 n.

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4. ἔχοντα, 'stretching'. Cf. i. 64, ἐπ' ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε.

9. τὸ μέσον. Cf. ch. 11, τὸ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐστί.

10. κοίλῃ. Cf. viii. 13, τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, and the expressions κοίλῃ Λακεδαιμῶν, κοῖλον Ἄργος, referring to their low-lying sites.

16. οὐνομαζόμενοι, 'with distinctive names', opp. to ἀνωνόμους. So infra οὐνομαζέσθαι. Tr.: 'These rivers then, flowing down, each with its special name, from the mountains enclosing Thessaly, to meet in the plain, discharge into the sea with united streams through a single, and that a narrow, channel'. The sense is somewhat obscured by the three consecutive participles without conjunction.

24. τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην. "Lake Boebeis is the modern Lake Karla,...has no outlet to the sea, and varies greatly in its dimensions at different seasons, being derived chiefly from the overflowing of the Peneus" (R.)

οὔτε—τε. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n. Here the meaning of οὔτε—τε is rather different, 'were not (named) and yet (flowed etc.)'.

27. Ποσειδέωνα. The statement of Hdt. regarding the Thessalian belief is confirmed by the scholiast on Pind. P. iv. 138, who refers Poseidon's name Πετράϊος to his action in Tempe.

30. τὴν γῆν σείαν, as declared in the titles ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων, σεισίχθων, τινάκτωρ γαίας.

32. ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ...οὐρέων. The view of Hdt., and the tradition that Thessaly was at one time a lake, is in accordance with modern scientific ideas.

- 130 4. ποταμῷ τούτῳ. For the omission of the article, by no means common, cf. ch. 49, στρατὸν τούτων. viii. 65, στρατιῆς τῆςδε, which occur, as here, in a conversation.

5. αὐτῇ, 'only'. Cf. ch. 49 (10) n.

8. ταῦτ' ἄρα, 'That then was the reason why'; further explained by καὶ τὰλλα καὶ ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Cf. Ar. Ach. 90, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφενάκιζες, and esp. Eq. 125, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφυλάττου πάλοι—τὸν χρησ-μὸν ὀρωδῶν, where ἐφυλάττου is used absolutely, as here ἐφυλάξαντο, 'shewed caution'. See Shilleto, De Falsa Leg. p. 208.

γνωσιμαχέοντες, 'forcing themselves to a confession of their inferiority', doing violence to their feelings (always implying submission); it is hardly possible to give the full meaning more concisely. Cf. viii. 29, where μὴ ὁμοιοὶ εἶναι is added in explanation; cf. also iii. 25, ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν. Eur. Heracl. 706, χρή γνωσιμαχεῖν σὴν ἡλικίαν 'confess you are too old to fight'; Ar. Av. 555, κἂν μὴ εὐθὺς γνωσιμαχήσῃ, πόλεμον πρωυδῶν [χρή], 'if he does not yield to our demands'.

10. πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μόνον, 'the only thing necessary would have been'. Cf. ch. 12 (4) n., and for similar use of ἔργον i. 17, ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον.

13. ρεῖθρων, 'channels'. Cf. ch. 43. τούτων, 'from those', must be supplied before δι' ὧν.

14. ὑπόβρυχα. Irregular acc. from ὑπόβρυχος. Cf. Od. v. 319, τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόβρυχα θῆκε, similar to the Homeric acc. διπτυχα fr. διπτυχος. ὑποβρύχιος is the commoner form; cf. i. 189. Some of the mss. here read ὑποβρυχέα, as if fr. nom. ὑποβρυχής.

ἔχοντα ἐς. Cf. ch. 143, ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον. viii. 144, τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν.

15. τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας. Ch. 6 n.

17. δοκέων ἀπὸ παντὸς κ.τ.λ. Xerxes was mistaken, chs. 172—4.

- 131 3. ἔκειρε, 'was clearing' (of trees, etc.), commonly of a destroying army, viii. 32, 65.

5. οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες, from Sardis, ch. 32.

- 132 2. Θεσσαλοὶ—Πλαταιέων. All these tribes were members of the Delphian Amphictyony or Sacred League.

6. ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'against these'. Cf. ch. 148, συνωμόται ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ.

ἑταμον ὄρκιον. Cf. iv. 201, ix. 26. *τέμνειν* (σφάγια), to sacrifice (victims, in confirmation of a covenant), came to be used of the oath itself, and is even found with *σπονδὰς*, Eur. Hel. 123—5; cf. Lat. *foedus ferire*.

The reality of this oath is doubted by some writers; others refer it to a later time, after Plataea, and differ as to its purport. The fact stated by Hdt., however, is perfectly possible, since he reports the terms as general, without specification of the medising States, some of whom did not finally submit to the Persians till after Thermopylae.

9. *καταστάτων—πρηγμάτων*, 'when their (i.e. the confederates') cause had proved successful'. Cf. ch. 158 and vi. 105, Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάτων σφίσι εἰ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων (i.e. after Marathon). Not, as some tr., 'where their (i.e. the medising States') affairs were in good condition', to express which the perfect partic. would have been used: *καταστάτων* marks action and change, not a state; cf. ch. 29 n.

10. *δεκατεῦσαι*. Commonly translated, 'to exact a tithe from'. As Stein observes, however, this rendering would make the punishment, much more the *threat*, a mild one. He therefore expl. *δεκατεῦσαι*, 'to devote to the god with their goods and persons'. The expression, as applied to Thebes, became proverbial, and plainly in the stronger, not the weaker, sense; for when B.C. 371, shortly before Leuctra, Thebes had audaciously defied the power of Sparta, the general expectation of her annihilation was expressed in the saying: *νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους*, Xen. Hell. vi. 3, 20.

5. *τὸ βάραθρον*. Known also as *τὸ δρυγμα*, a deep pit, 133 with spikes projecting from its sides, used for the dead bodies of criminals; hence the executioner's title, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ δρύγματι*.

There was a similar hole at Sparta called *ὁ Καῖδας*, from which Aristomenes the Messenian was said to have escaped miraculously, and into which the Spartans thought of casting the corpse of Pausanias, Thucyd. i. 134.

10. *ἀνθέλκτον*, cf. ch. 88, and 190 n. on *ἄχαρις*. According to Pausanias, the deed was avenged on the family of Miltiades, the chief instigator to it.

- 134 1. δὲ ὦν. Cf. ch. 35, δὴ ὦν, and 9, δ' ὦν.
 μῆνις. In the strict sense of divine, retributive anger. Cf. ch. 197, μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ. Aesch. Ag. 701, Ἰλίου δὲ κῆδος...μῆνις ἦλασεν.
 2. Ταλθύβιον. Cf. II. i. 320,
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε (Agamemnon) Ταλθύβιον τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτην προσέειπεν,
 τῷ οἱ ἔσαν κήρυκε καὶ ὀτρυνῶ θεράποντε.
 Talthybius, as the patron of heralds, would resent any outrage to the inviolability of the office. Besides the profession of the heralds (which at Athens gave its name to the family of Κήρυκες, Thucyd. viii. 53), at Sparta those of the flute-players and cooks were also hereditary! vi. 60.
 7. οὐκ ἐδύνατο, sc. τὰ σφάγια. Cf. ix. 45, Μαρδονίῳ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι, and ch. 113, on καλλιρῆσαι.
 9. συμφορῇ χρεωμένων, 'giving way to grief'. Cf. iii. 41, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἴκια συμφορῇ ἐχρήτο, also viii. 20.
 11. εἰ, whether.
 13. Σπερθίης, or Sperchis. Theocr. is believed to refer to a dirge sung in his honour, xv. 98, ἄτις καὶ Σπέρχων τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.
 15. ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα. Cf. viii. 111, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, and ch. 13.
 135 3. πορευόμενοι γάρ. Cf. ch. 46 (7) n.
 4. Ὑδάρνεα, cf. ch. 83. The office of the στρατηγός, who controlled the military forces of a province, was distinct from that of the Satrap, though the two were sometimes held by one person. R. Bk. iii., *Essay* iii. Otanes had been στρατηγός τῶν π., v. 25.
 10. τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα, 'my fortune'.
 ἀποβλέποντες ἐς, lit. looking away (from all else) towards, i.e. to look earnestly, or attentively at. Cf. ch. 96 (6) n., ἐξέργεσθαι.
 12. δεδόξασθε—ἀγαθόι. Cf. viii. 124, and ix. 48 (Mardonius addressing the Spartans before Plataea), δεδόξασθε εἶναι ἀριστοί. γάρ, here, anticipates the coming clause, i.e. it explains and justifies ἕκαστος...βασίλειος, cf. 142.
 14. ὑπεκρίναντο. Ch. 39 n.

15. οὐκ ἐξ ἑσού γίνεται, 'is not unbiassed', is the outcome of a one-sided view.

20. οὐκ ἄν...πελέκεσι. The battle-axe was only resorted to in close and deadly combat; cf. II. xv. 711,

οὐδ' ἄρα τοίγε
τόξων αἰκὰς ἀμφὶς μένον οὐδέ τ' ἀκόντων,
ἀλλ' οἱ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενοι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
ὀξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίνησι μάχοντο.

5. ἀνάγκην σφί προσφερόντων. Cf. ix. 108, βίην προσ- 136
φέρειν. For the fact cf. Plut. Them. xxvii., βασιλεῖ οὐ πάτριον
ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνησάντος. The courtiers were pre-
pared for a refusal from Themistocles.

6. ὠθεόμενοι ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, *vel si detruderentur in caput*
(Bähr). ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν came to mean 'headlong'. Pl. Rep. 553 B,
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου.

8. ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι. Cf. i. 131, ἐν νόμῳ ποιουμένους [ἀγάλαματα
ιδρύεσθαι].

9. κατὰ ταῦτα, 'for that purpose'; cf. ii. 152, κατὰ λήτην
ἐκπλώσαντες. Hom. πλάξεσθαι κατὰ λήϊδα εἶο.

10. λόγου τοιοῦδε ἔχόμενα. Ch. 5 (7) n.

δεύτερά σφί λέγουσι...λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα. For the
'epanalepsis', or resuming of the thread of the story, cf. chs.
43 and 141.

14. ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης, cf. ch. 24. The word implies
ostentation: Xerxes was fond of parading his actions; cf. ch.
29, 146, 147.

16. τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα, 'the laws of humanity',
in a very wide sense. Lat. *ius gentium*, Livy xl. 9.

17. αὐτὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ. Cf. iii. 142, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπι-
πλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω.

1. οὕτω, expl. by ταῦτα. Σπαρτιητέων, cf. ch. 119. St. 137
compares ch. 164, τοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον, and
ch. 230.

7. ἐν τοῖσι θεώτατον. A modified superlative. τοῖσι, prob-
ably neuter, is invariable, being used with feminines, Thucyd.
iii. 81, and has apparently become stereotyped, like ἔστιν in
ἐστὶν οἱ. It seems to be a relic of the demonstrative force οἱ

the article (cf. ch. 6 n.), and to have meant originally 'among those', 'in that class'. The phrase is also found in Thucyd. and Pl., but in no other classic writer.

8. *ὅτι...κατέσκηψε κ.τ.λ.*, 'as to the fact that'. Expr. in Lat. by *quod* with Indic.

10. *ἔξηλθε*, 'fulfilled itself', 'accomplished its end'. Cf. vi. 82, *ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

οὕτω ἔφερε. Cf. ch. 19, *ἐκριναν φέρειν*.

τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν, sc. *αὐτῇν*. The infin. is recalled by *τὸ πρῆγμα* after the parenthesis.

15. *ὅτι θεῶν...μήνιος*, 'that the event was brought about by heaven in consequence of the wrath'.

16. *οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες κ.τ.λ.*, 430 B.C. Thucyd. ii. 67. Sitalkes, mentioned iv. 80, was at this time in league with Athens, and under the influence of his brother-in-law Nymphodorus, their *πρόξενος*, Thucyd. ii. 29. The envoys were put to death untried, in retaliation for Spartan outrages to merchantmen and neutrals; Aristes, as having instigated the revolt of Potidaea.

23. *Ἀδεϊμάντων*, probably the same mentioned viii. 59, 61, 94.

138 1. *ἐπάνειμι δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Cf. ch. 239.

2. *στρατηλασίη*. Here and viii. 140, armament; properly campaign, as ch. 14 *στρατιῆς ἑλασις*.

ὄνομα μὲν εἶχε. So in Engl. colloquially, 'to have the name of being'.

3. *ἐπ' Ἀθήνας*. Cf. ch. 8, *τὸ στρατεύμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας*, Aesch. Pers. 233.

3. *κατίετο*, 'was coming down upon', an unusual expression, though the simple *ἔσθαι* is common, in the sense of hastening towards, vi. 112, *δρόμῳ ἔντο ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους*. Hom. *ἔμενος Τροίηνδε* etc.

5. *ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιεῖντο*. Ch. 1 (6) n.

7. *τῷ Πέρσῃ*. Cf. Lat. use of *Romanus* etc. in sing.

12. *ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου*, 'to take an active part in the war'. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 97, *ἀνθάπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων*. v. 61, *ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου*.

139 1. *ἀναγκαίη ἐξέρχομαι*. Cf. ch. 96.

2. ἐπιφθονον...πρὸς κ.τ.λ., 'offensive to', that will excite jealousy on the part of (πρὸς) the majority.

4. ἐπιστήσω, intr. 'restrain myself', 'hold silence'. Cf. v. 51, λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου ἐνεκα. Cf. also viii. 23 etc.

8. ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεῖμενοι, 'would have made the attempt, and opposed themselves'. The attempt consists in offering opposition. So too ch. 9, ἐπειρήθην ἐλαύνων means not 'I tried to march', but 'I made the trial, and marched'. Cf. i. 177, ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιῶν. II. 73, πειρᾶσθαι φορέοντα.

From these must be distinguished the cases where the pres. partic. itself has a 'tentative' meaning (i.e. of trying and not necessarily succeeding); cf. ch. 168; so in ch. 148, πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες means 'will make the attempt and try to win over', and ch. 172, μηχανεύμενοι, 'set about devising'. Cf. also vi. 5, κατιών. 9, ἀποσχίζων. 50, συλλαμβάνων. ix. 26, κατιόντες. 53, πείθοντες. In these latter cases πειρ. with the partic. has almost exactly the same meaning as πειρ. with infinitive, for which cf. v. 85, vi. 130.

10. κατὰ γε ἄν. ἄν with ἐγίνετο, as infra ἄν with ἀπέθανον.

11. ταχέων κιβῶνες, lit. defences in the shape of walls. For κιθῶν, a covering, protection of any sort, see Xen. Conv. iv. 38, πάνυ μὲν ἄλκιμοι χιτῶνες οἱ τοίχοι μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, and cf. Hdt. i. 181, where θώρηξ is used in the same way, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί.

12. ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι. Cf. i. 185, κρηπίδα ἤλασε. i. 180, τὸ τεῖχος ἐλήλαται etc.

13. προδοθέντες ἄν κ.τ.λ. ἄν with both προδοθέντες and ἐμουνύθησαν, which are closely joined (= προεδόθησαν ἄν κ. ἐμουνύθησαν ἄν). Below, on the contrary, ἄν with ἀπέθανον only, μουνυθέντες κ. ἄπ. forming the protasis, 'when left alone, and when they had...'. ἄν is often thus placed early in a hypothetical sentence, apart from the word it influences, in order to prepare the reader's mind for, and give prominence to, the coming apodosis, which is the most emphatic clause. In such cases it is often repeated, as in the next sentence ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κ.τ.λ., where both ἄν's belong to ἐχρήσαντο. νῦν δὲ, where both go with ἀμαρτάνει, Gdw. § 42, N. 1.

18. *πρὸ τοῦ*, another trace of the article as demonstrative. Cf. ch. 6.

20. *ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα*, 'in either case'. Cf. viii. 22, *ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων*, 'with a view to both contingencies'; ix. 97, *ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι*.

26. *τὸ ἀληθές*, adv. 'in truth'. Cf. Pl. Phaed. 102 B, *ὁμολογεῖς τὸ ὑπερέχειν οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀληθές εἶχειν*. Cf. *τὸ παλαιὸν*, *τῶρχαῖον* etc.

27. *ἔμελλε*. Ch. 23 n.

31. *μετὰ γε θεοῦς*, with *αὐτοὶ οὗτοι*. Engl. 'under God'.

33. *καταμείναντες...δέξασθαι*, 'they had the courage to stand firm and receive'. The aorist partic. marks the *decision* to remain, a single act.

140 1. *θεοπρόπους*. Att. *θεωροί*.

3. *τὰ νομιζόμενα*. The sacrifice of an ox, goat, or sheep was required. The *μέγαρον*, or *ἄδυτον*, was the inner sanctuary, containing the tripod and statue of the god.

7. *λιπὼν*, governing *δῶματα—κάρηνα*. The sing. is used, because the Athenian people are now addressed as a whole; infra the return to the pl. and dual shews that the two envoys are again in the priestess's mind. The abrupt changes are characteristic of the impetuous haste with which the warning was uttered.

φευγ' ἔσχατα γαίης, 'flee to the ends of the earth'. The acc. of *motion to* is very bold after *φευγ'*, which so often takes an acc. of that *fled from*, but this constr. is used very freely in poetry with other verbs of motion. Cf. Soph. O. C. 378, *τὸ κόλῳ Ἄργος βάς*. Tr. 259, *έρχεται πόλιν τὴν Εὐρυτείαν*. Il. i. 322, *έρχεσθον κλισίην* etc.

8. *τροχοειδής*. Cf. ii. 170, *λίμνη...ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη*. The ancient walls of Athens appear to have formed a rough circle. Cf. i. 98, *τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον*.

9. *μένει ἔμπεδον*. Homeric; cf. Il. v. 527, xix. 33, *αἰεὶ τῷδ' ἔσται χρῶς ἔμπεδος*, etc. So with *πόδες νέατοι*, 'the sole of the foot', cf. *πόδα νεάτων Ἰδης, νεάτος ὤμος*, etc.

For 'Prophetic present' cf. ch. 6 (21) n.

10. *μέσσης*, sc. *πόλιος*.

11. *ἄζηλα πέλει*. The n. pl. includes all the parts enu-

merated, and its vagueness suits the oracular style. *ἄζηλα*, for which Lobeck gives *ἀδζηλα*, is often used (by *litotes*) in a very strong sense. Deianira, charged with her husband's murder, calls it *ἄζηλον ἔργον* (Soph. Tr. 245).

12. *Συριγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων*. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 85 ('*Ἀσίας ἀρχων*), πολύχειρ καὶ πολυαῦτας Σύριον θ' ἄρμα διώκων ἐπάγει... ταξέδαμνον Ἄρη. For Σύριος see ch. 63 n.

διώκων has here its primary sense of 'speeding', 'making to haste'; cf. Od. xii. 182, *βίμφα διώκοντες (νῆα)*. Aesch. Eum. 403, *διώκουσ'* ἦλθον ἀτρυτον πόδα.

15. *ῥεούμενοι*. This form is not found elsewhere; *ῥερέιτο* occurs Eur. Hel. 1602. The only passive forms common are *ῥήσομαι* and *ῥέρην*.

16. *κατὰ...κέχυται*. Tmesis for *κατακέχυται*. In prose a *Gen.* (not *Dat.*) is used of the object *over which*; cf. iv. 62, *καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκνώκεος*. Similar portents are related to have foreshadowed the Hannibalic War and other great times of disaster; cf. Livy xxii. 1.

17. *προϊδόν*. Apparently with the sense of *προφαινόν* (Stein).

κακότητος ἀνάγκας, 'the straits of woe'; for this meaning of *κακότης* cf. vi. 67, *ἡ μυρίης κακότητος ἡ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης*. In ch. 168 it is cowardice, *οὐδεμῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας*.

18. *κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμὸν*, 'shroud your hearts in woe', lit. 'spread-over your heart with ills'. The expression is perhaps purposely obscure; some translate, 'offer a brave heart to your ills'; but the other rendering seems more in accordance with the general tenor of the oracle, which offers no hope, and only counsels flight. Cf. Grote ch. 39.

ἐπικίδναται, pass. only, is found in Il. ii. 850, with an acc. following, *ὄδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν*.

2. *συμφορῇ...ἐχρέωντο*. Cf. ch. 134 (9) n.

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προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοῖς, 'giving themselves up to despair'; cf. the expression 'prostrated by grief'.

3. *ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ*. Cf. ch. 22 (6) n.

5. *ὅμοια τῇ μάλιστα*. Cf. ch. 118 (8) n.

6. *κεκτηρίδας*, olive branches twined with white wool, which

were laid on the altar, but removed again if the suppliant's petition was granted. See Jebb on Soph. O. T. 3.

λαβοῦσι...ἐλθόντας. For the change of case cf. ch. 95 (11) n.

13. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι, cf. ch. 136 (13).

ἡ πρόμαντις, cf. ch. 111 (9) n.

16. ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας, lit. 'having brought it near to adamant', i.e. into connexion with adamant, which is the special metal for nails and rivets. The sense is therefore: 'having established it firmly'.

For this peculiar meaning of πελάζειν cf. Hes. Op. 481, (ἐλυμα) γόμφοισι πελάσας, 'having brought near to bolts', i.e. γομφώσας. Aesch. P. V. 154, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀγρίως πελάσας, 'having brought into contact with bonds', i.e. having bound.

For ἀδάμας, iron of peculiar strength, and its special use in bonds, cf. Pind. P. iv. 71, ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἄλοις. Aesch. P. V. 6, ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν. Ib. 64, ἀδαμαντίνου σφηνός. Hor. *adaman-
tinos clavos*.

Others translate: 'having brought it to adamant', i.e. making it like adamant.

With the whole line cf. the Homeric ἀλλ' ἐκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι οἶω.

The masc., πελάσας, shews that the words are Apollo's.

17. Κέκροπος οἶκος, probably 'the limits of Attica', which Cecrops, the legendary founder of Athenian monarchy, divided into 12 parts; though of these the Acropolis in particular bore his name. For other possible meanings, cf. ch. 220 (20) n.

18. Κιθαιρῶνος ἱαθείου. Sacred to Zeus and Dionysus.

19. Τριτογενεῖ. The name Tritogenes or Tritogeneia is commonly derived from the river Triton in Boeotia, though Hdt. tells us, iv. 180, that Athene was worshipped near Lake Tritonis in Libya, as the child of Poseidon and the lake.

21. μηδὲ σὺ γ'...μένειν. The Infin. of command is especially common in Homer; cf. Il. v. 124, θαρσῶν νῦν, Διόμηδες, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι. For examples in Hdt. cf. ch. 209; viii. 68, εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα. iii. 134, σὺ δέ μοι στρατεύεσθαι. Cf. also Soph. El. 9, φάσκειν.

ἵπποσύνην here = τὴν ἵππον, properly 'horsemanship';

cf. II. xxiii. 307, ἱπποσύνας ἐδίδαξαν. xvi. 776, λελασμένους ἱπποσυνάων.

24. ἀπολεῖς δέ. The position of δέ emphasizes the vocative, which is regarded as an interjection, outside the sentence. The idiom occurs in both prose and poetry (esp. Pind.), where a fresh person is addressed. Cf. i. 115, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα... ἐποίησα. Pind. O. vi. 13, Ἀγῆσία, τὴν δ' αἶνος ἐτοῖμος. Aesch. P. V. 3, Ἥφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς. Cf. also Homeric ἀτὰρ, II. vi. 429, Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσι.

δέ generally follows a pers. pronoun, but not always: besides this passage, cf. i. 32; Pind. P. x. 10.

25. σκιδναμένης...συννιούσης, i.e. 'at seed time or harvest'. Δημήτερος = Δημήτερος ἀκτῆς. Cf. Virg. G. i. 297, *rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu*; Hor. Od. iii. 24, 13 etc.

συννιούσης, 'being gathered in'. Cf. iv. 1, *χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων*.

2. συγγραφάμενοι. It was customary to copy the replies 142 of oracles into tablets, δέλτοι. Cf. viii. 135, ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπίειν ἐμελλε. Soph. Tr. 1165, ἃ (μαντεῖα) Σελλῶν ἐσελθὼν ἄλσος εἰσεγραψάμην. Ar. Av. 982, *χρησμός...ὃν ἐγὼ παρὰ τὰ πόλλωνος ἐξεγραψάμην*. Notice the variety of prepositions.

4. ἐς τὸν δῆμον, 'in the hearing of the people', i.e. before the ecclesia. Cf. viii. 26, εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε.

5. διζήμενων, dep. on γινώμαι, though it might be taken as gen. abl. For meaning cf. ch. 103 n.

6. συνεστηκῦναι, 'conflicting'; cf. viii. 79, *συνεστηκόντων τῶν στρατηγῶν*, and Thucyd. vii. 71, *σύστασιν γνώμης*. The word denotes properly a close *mêlée* (cf. ch. 225, and so *σύστασις*, ch. 167), but is used in a wide sense; cf. ch. 170, viii. 74, *λιμῶ, πόνῳ συστήναι* (to struggle with); ch. 144, *πόλεμος συστάς*.

10. κατὰ τὸν φραγμόν, 'corresponded to, tallied with the palisade'. κατὰ with acc. denotes general harmony with; cf. i. 121, *πατέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ...τὸν βουκόλον* (i.e. of far higher rank); iv. 23, *τῷ δενδρέῳ μέγαθος κατὰ σκέην μάλιστά κη*. viii. 38, *μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας*. *Infra κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα*.

15. ἔσφαλλε, 'baffled'.

19. συνεχέοντο. A favourite word of Hdt.; the chief idea is that of bringing into confusion. Cf. ch. 115, 136, viii. 99.

- 143 1. τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων. Cf. ch. 146, τῶν τινὰς δορυφόρων. VIII. 90, τῶν τινέτι Φοινίκων. This order is very common in Hdt.
3. Νεοκλῆος. οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθηνησιν, Plut. Them.
1. The mother of Themistocles was a foreigner, and this fact also would lower his natural position in the State.
6. ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε. Cf. ch. 130 (14) n.
- τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον, 'the utterance of the lines', distinguish fr. τὸ εἰρ. ἔπος, 'the uttered lines'. For ἔπος, 'saying', cf. ch. 120, 152.
7. οὕτω...ἤπιως. Cf. ch. 46 (13). μιν, i.e. τὸ ἔπος.
9. τοῦ ὧς θείῃ Σαλαμίνι. For the article with quotations, pointing to something already known, or previously stated, cf. I. 86, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος...τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων δαβιον, also ch. 27 (10) n. Lat. *illud Solonis*.
- εἴπερ γε, 'if, in very truth', 'if really'.
10. ἀλλὰ γάρ, 'but in fact', but (it is not so) for....
12. συλλαμβάνοντι. Dat. of person judging.
- ἀλλ' οὐκ, 'and not'. Cf. ch. 8 (8) n.
14. τοῦτον, i.e. τῶν νεῶν, supplied from ναυμαχῆσοντας.
15. ἀποφαινομένου, sc. γνώμην. Cf. VIII. 49, γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι.
16. αἰρετώτερα μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 50 (7) n.
18. ἀρτέεσθαι, i.q. παραρτέεσθαι, ch. 142; cf. VIII. 97, and ch. 8 (41) n.
- τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι, 'in a word', i.q. τὸ σύμπαν. Cf. ch. 104 (14) n.
19. ἀλλ'...οἰκίζαν, sc. ἐκέλευον. Cf. ch. 104 (24) n. These counsellors pointed, no doubt, to the example of the Phocaeans and Teians, who emigrated to Velia (in S. Italy) and Abdera, during the conquest of Ionia by Cyrus, I. 165—168. The idea was again entertained, VIII. 62.
- It has been suggested that Themistocles was himself the instigator of this oracle, but in this case the wording would have probably been less ambiguous.
- 144 3. ἤρπτευσεν, 'bore the palm', usually of persons; cf. ch. 227.
4. ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. Here, 'the public treasury'; in VIII. 135, 'the State'.

5. τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, pregnant constr.; cf. ch. 37 (9) n. The silver mines of Laurium, which formed for many years one of the chief sources of Athenian revenue, were worked by private individuals, paying an annual percentage on their profits to the State. The large sum in the treasury at this time, B.C. 482, (estimated by Boeckh at over £12,000, assuming the citizens to have numbered 30,000, Hdt. v. 97) was perhaps the result of fresh activity, if not simply the accumulation of yearly rents. Cf. Grote 39, Curtius II. Ap. Note VIII.

8. πανταμένους. On the question of previous yearly distributions, see Grote and Curtius l. c.

9. τούτων τῶν χρημάτων. Gen. of price.

ποιήσασθαι, causative; cf. ch. 100 (5) n.

διηκοσίας. 200 was probably the whole number aimed at, and only acquired by degrees. Athens had 70 ships after Marathon (vi. 132), and only 200 in 480 B.C. (VIII. 1. 14). It would be rash to conjecture how far £12,000 would have covered the expenses of such a fleet. Silver may have had a wholly different value at this period.

10. τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λόγον. Another Persian invasion was in his mind, but this did not appear sufficiently imminent to rouse the people, Plut. Them. 4.

Aegina, one of the earliest States to acquire naval power, had long been hostile to Athens, and had made war upon her at the instance of Thebes B.C. 507, v. 81—89. In retaliation, Athens induced Sparta to punish Aegina for her submission to Persia, 493 B.C., by taking hostages, whose retention in Attica caused a renewal of the war, vi. 50, 87 seqq.

11. συστάς. Cf. ch. 142 n.

13. ἐχρήσθησαν. The Passive, in this sense, is only found twice (L. and S.).

14. ἐς δέον...ἐγένοντο, 'proved a boon'; cf. i. 119, ἡ ἀμαρτία οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει (had turned out well); 186, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄρυχ-θὲν...ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι.

Rather different is the use of τὸ δέον. Cf. II. 173, ἐς τὸ δέον χρᾶσθαι, to use for the proper purpose, in time of need. In Att. τὸ δέον is the technical phrase for 'secret service'.

16. προσναυπηγέσθαι. Mid.

- 145 1. ἐς τὸ αὐτό, i.e. the Isthmus; each patriotic State sent a representative, ch. 172.

τῶν περὶ...φρονούντων. (1) If τῶν be retained, τῶν περὶ ...'Ελλήνων = 'the Greeks of Greece Proper', as opposed to the Ionians, Siceliots etc.; but, as Stein remarks, in ch. 157 'Ελλάς includes the whole Greek world. (2) Comparing ch. 172, τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονουσέων περὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα, it seems better to bracket τῶν, with Stein, and tr. 'the Greeks who were well affected to the cause of Greece'. The phrase then becomes an example of 'instalment of the attribute'; περὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα τὰ ἀμ. φρονούντων is all 'attributive' to 'Ελλήνων, and should therefore naturally be placed between article and noun; instead of which, one portion or 'instalment' only precedes, the rest follows the noun 'Ελλήνων. To take another and simpler instance: οἱ πολῖται ἐκπεσόντες would clearly not be Greek for 'the citizens who were banished'; but, on the other hand, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολῖται ἐκπεσόντες, for 'the citizens who were banished from the city', is quite correct. For φρονέειν, cf. ch. 102 n.

3. δίδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν. δίδοναι λόγον is properly to *accord*, as τυγχάνειν λόγου is to *receive* the right of speech; hence δίδοναι σφίσι λόγον, 'to hold a consultation'; and in the sing. i. 34, ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, 'gave his mind permission to express itself' (in thought), i.e. 'consulted with himself'. δίδοναι σφίσι πίστιν, 'to interchange pledges'.

8. ἐγκεκρημένοι. Reiske's conjecture for ἐγκεκρημένοι of the mss. He compares v. 124, ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα, of the Ionian Revolt.

13. πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, 'against the P.'; but cf. Thucyd. v. 22, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιούντο, with the Ath.

16. εἰ κως...πάντες, 'in the hope that, etc.' ἦν with subj., or (dep. on a secondary tense) εἰ with opt., often expresses the thought in the mind of the subject, whether fear, expectation, hope or wish. The thought is in the form of a protasis, the apodosis not expressed: 'If this should happen (how terrible!)' or, 'If *only* this could be done' etc. Cf. vi. 52, βουλομένην εἰ κως ἀμφοτέροι γενοίετο βασιλῆες. viii. 6, πρόθυμοι

ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἰ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτούς. Ib. 57, ἴθι κ. πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνώσαι κ.τ.λ.

17. *συνκύψαντες*. Lit. 'laying their heads together', commonly of conspirators. Cf. III. 82, οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ *συνκύψαντες* ποιέουσι. Ar. Eq. 854, εἰς ἐν συγκεκυφὸς, of a conspiracy.

πρήσσοιεν, here, as often, 'work for', 'aim at'.

20. οὐδαμῶν...τῶν οὐ. οὐδαμῶν-τῶν-οὐ=πάντων by attr. for οὐδαμᾶ (ἐστι) τῶν οὐ. Cf. οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ, declined as one word throughout.

8. τοῖσι...θάνατος. Cf. II. 133, κατακεκρμένων οἱ τούτων. 146 In I. 45 we find σεωντοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον, the common Attic constr.

15. ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, more than to 'shew'; 'to shew off'.

17. πλήρεις, 'sated'. Cf. Lat. *plenus*, Lucr. III. 959,

*et nec opinanti mors ad caput adstitit ante
quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum.*

1. ἐπιλέγων τὸν λόγον τόνδε, 'with this explanation'. The 147 phrase is common in Hdt., cf. VIII. 49.

5. λόγου μῆζω, 'beyond description'.

10. σφέας, a repetition of τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Cf. ch. 167.

οὐδὲ δεήσειν, 'there would be no reason to...at all'. Cf. οὐδὲ ἀρχῇ, ch. 9.

12. οἴκε. *ἔοικε* also is used, cf. ch. 18.

18. παραγγεῖαι. The special term for giving the word of command; hence τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, 'military orders'.

19. πλείουν, sc. οἱ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις.

21. ἐκεῖ, not unfrequently for ἐκεῖσε.

1. ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ. Cf. ch. 132 n.

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3. δεύτερα, 'in the next place'; cf. ch. 18. Not 'again', as in ch. 141.

5. αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, 'from the very first'. Cf. ch. 88.

10. *ᾤς*, with ποιεῖσι. For ὥς=ὅπως, as indirect interrogative, cf. II. II. 3, ἀλλ' ὅ γε μερμήριζε...ὥς Ἀχιλλεῖα | τιμήσῃ, and ch. 37 (13) n.

11. νεωστὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ., B.C. 494. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, had been moved by an encouraging oracle to attack the Argives,

on whom he inflicted so severe a defeat, that from scarcity of citizens, the slaves, or, according to Aristotle, the Perioeci assumed the government, vi. 78 seqq. Sparta and Argos were standing rivals in the Peloponnese, and had constant disputes over the border land of Cynuria. Argos was loath to recognise the loss of her traditional sovereignty, inherited from Agamemnon and from Temenus the eldest Heracleid.

16. τὸν προβόλαιον, 'thy spear'. Cf. ch. 76 (3). Theocritus has δούρατι προβόλαιω, χxiν. 123.

17. κεφαλὴν. Probably the free-born Dorians are here meant, τὸ σῶμα being the rest of the populace.

19. ὡς ἄλθειν. For the attraction of the dependent clause into the infin., common in Hdt., see Gdw. § 92, N. 3.

δη, actually.

22. ποιεῖν ταῦτα, i.e. τὰ λεγόμενα, what the envoys urged. τριήκοντα ἔτη, 'for thirty years'; so with σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι, Thucyd. v. 97.

23. σπεισόμενοι... ἡγεόμενοι, conditional.

26. ἀποχρᾶν. Ch. 43 (5) n.

149 4. σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν, sc. σφέας, τοὺς Ἀργεῖους.

6. φοβούμενοι, sc. σφι, dependent on γενέσθαι.

7. μὴ... εὐσεύων, dep. on ἐπιλέγεσθαι, reported condition.

There are here two hypotheses dep. on ἐπιλέγ., i.e. μὴ... εὐσεύων, and ἦν... Πέρσῃ. It is well to notice how the constr. is relieved by the use of a participle (instead of a finite verb with *εἰ* or *ἦν*) to express the first condition.

8. ἐπιλέγεσθαι... μὴ ἔωσι. Cf. i. 77, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε... ἐλάσῃ. iii. 65, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ... τις ἐπανασταίῃ, and viii. 53, οὐτ' ἂν ἡλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις ἀναβαίῃ. The leading verb often only *implies* the fear which is sufficiently expressed by μὴ. This is clear from those cases where μὴ and the subj. stand alone. This latter idiom is esp. common in Pl.; cf. Gorg. 462 ε, μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν. Phaed. 67, μὴ καθαρῶ καθαρῶ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ, 'I fear lest it be etc.'; and hence, 'perhaps it may be'. See Gdw. § 46, N. 4. Cf. also 145 n.

13. ἀνολεῖν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, i.e. to the Assembly of Spartiatae meeting in the Eurotas Valley, who decided

questions of peace and war and other matters of importance, but had no right of discussion. For the expr. cf. *iii.* 80, *βουλευματα πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει.*

14. *αὐτοῖσι*, i.q. *αὐτοῖσι σφισι*. Cf. *v.* 87, *λέγουσι, αὐτῶν...* *διαφθείραντων κ.τ.λ.* and *infra* *ch.* 220, *viii.* 36.

15. *καὶ δῆ*. Cf. *ch.* 186 *n.*

25. *περίψεσθαι*. Probably in *pass.* sense, cf. *ch.* 39 (17) *n.* With the conduct of Argos on this occasion we may compare her neutrality during the Peloponnesian War. Her jealous dread of Sparta forced her into extreme caution.

8. *Πέρην*. Cf. *ch.* 61 *n.*

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11. *οὕτω...ἐκμεν*. 'According to this then, we should be etc.' The idiom is like our own, and has a still closer parallel in the Scotticism, by which 'would be' means nothing more than a cautious *pres. Indic.*: 'Wad ye be the meenister?' 'I'd believe that.' (Are you the minister? That is true.)

If the construction be analysed, it may be explained as a conditional sentence, with *protasis* suppressed (or implied, as in *οὕτω*). 'If this proved true, we should turn out to be', and so with the Scotch idiom, 'If I were to inquire, would you prove to be the minister?' Cf. *i.* 2, *ἐλθσαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες*. *Infr.* *ch.* 180, 184, and *Thucyd.* *i.* 9, *αὐται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ ἐλθσαν. οὕτε ὦν*. For the sentiment, cf. *ch.* 51 (8), 47 (5) *n.*

13. *τιμωρόντας*. *Ch.* 8 (27) *n.*

15. *κατήσθαι*, 'to remain inactive', frequently in this sense. Cf. *iii.* 134, *ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτῃσαι*. *Pind.* *Ol.* *i.* 83, *ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος*, inactive and unknown. *Dem.* *i.* 42, *μέλ- λοντας ἡμᾶς κ. καθήμενους*. Cf. *ἔξεσθε*, *viii.* 22.

16. *κατὰ νόον* = *ἀνοέω* (*ch.* 38). Cf. *ch.* 104.

ἄξω, 'I will hold'. So, frequently in *Hdt.*, both in *Act.* and *Middle*: *i.* 134, *ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται*. *ii.* 172, *ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἦγον*.

17. *πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι*, 'made much of'. Cf. *vi.* 63, *τοῦτο ἥκουσαν μὲν πρήγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραντίκα*. Also *iii.* 132, *ἦν μέγιστον πρήγμα Δημοκλήδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ*, was 'made much of'. Cf. *ch.* 12 (4) *n.*

18. *ἐπαγγελλομένους*, 'spontaneously'. Cf. *ch.* 1 (8) *n.*

19. *μεταιτίειν*, sc. *τῆς ἀρχῆς*. Cf. *iv.* 146, *τῆς βασιλείης*

μεταίτεοντες. For the meaning of *μετά* cf. infra *μεταδιδόναι*.
οὐδέν, adv.

ἐπεὶ... παραλαμβάνειν. Cf. ch. 148 (19) n. παραλαμβάνειν, Pres. of attempt, i.e. tentative; cf. ch. 139 (8) n. and 221, ἀποπεμπόμενος.

22. ἐπὶ προφάσιος, the emphatic words: 'that they might have a pretext for etc.' The dative is more usual.

151 1. συμπεσεῖν, 'coincide'. Cf. viii. 15; 141, of coincidence in time, καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφέων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν.

3. πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. The date and circumstances of the embassy here mentioned are uncertain. Curtius places it in 445 B.C., and holds that the Athenians were unsuccessful in their negotiations. He, with many other scholars, believes the famous Peace of Callias, or Cimon, frequently alluded to by the orators, to have been an invention devised for the glorification of Athens. See Curt. ii. 410; Grote, ch. 45.

4. γινόμενον. Grammatically with λόγον, in sense with the subject-matter of the λόγος which means 'statement of fact' (cf. viii. 59, 65), not 'story'.

Callias, whose grandfather had been a person of high position, and a bold opponent of the Pisistratidae, vi. 121, was heavily fined for venality on his return. Dem. xix. 429.

Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μενονίοισι, so-called v. 53, 54. The connexion of Memnon, son of Tithonus and Eos, with Susa is not clear. He is mentioned in the Odyss., and by Pind., as fighting at the head of Ethiopians at Troy (Odyss. iv. 188. Pind. P. vi. 30. N. iii. 62), and as the slayer of Antilochus.

9. εἰρωτᾶν, Imperfect. So infra φάναι.

10. εἰ... ἐμμένει... ἢ νομιζέσθαι. Notice the change of mood. Gdw. § 70, 2, R. 1. If any distinction in meaning can be drawn, it is perhaps that the Indic. expresses what the Argives wished and hoped to be a fact, the Optat. that which they preferred to regard as a remote possibility.

11. συνεκερδήσαντο. Cf. iv. 152, φίλῳ μεγάλῳ συνεκρήθησαν. The expression is uncommon.

13. μάλιστα, 'certainly'. μάλιστα γε, or καὶ μάλιστα, is a common form of affirmation. The modern Greek μάλιστα is the regular word for *yes*.

8. τὰ οἰκήϊα κακά, 'their own evil deeds'. 152
9. τοῖσι πηλοῖσι, i.e. τοῖσι τῶν πηλοῖων. Cf. ch. 23 (21) n. The gen. 'of price' is commoner than the dative with verbs of exchange. The dat. is instrumental, the price being the *instrument* by which the purchase is effected.
12. οὕτω δὲ κ.τ.λ. This quaintly expressed statement is intended to take the edge off the coming insinuation (*ἐπεὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*) against Argos, while aiming a side thrust at Thebes and other unpatriotic States. If the Argives could scrutinise their neighbours' performances, they would be readier to bear their own load of guilt, and would not feel in an isolated position.
- Hdt. evidently suspected the worst of Argos, and is all the more careful to preserve strict impartiality. He states both views of the case, and then leaves the reader to judge for himself.
14. παντάπασι, 'unconditionally', 'without reserve'.
- καὶ μοι τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. Cf. II. 123, ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. Hdt. is a thoroughly conscientious historian: he is always careful to distinguish fact, or what he believes to be fact, from mere rumour.
16. ὥς ἄρα, 'that in reality', introducing an unexpected conclusion. Cf. Pl. Theæt. 152 D, ὡς ἄρα ἐν μὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ.
18. ἡ αἰχμῇ, 'the war'; cf. v. 94, [Σίγειον] εἶλε αἰχμῇ. Cf. αἰχμάλωτος, δμαιομένη etc., and the similar use of δόρυ. Soph. Aj. 963, ἐν χρεῖε δόρυς.
19. πρὶο, sooner than, i.e. 'rather than'.
2. συμμίζοντες. Common in this neuter sense of 'having 153 an interview with'; cf. VIII. 67, 79; also used transitively VIII. 58, θέλει οἱ κοινὸν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖσαι, communicate.
5. οἰκῆτωρ δ' ἐν Γέλῃ. Lit. 'the colonist at Gela', i.e. the first of the family to settle at Gela. οἰκῆτωρ can mean both 'colonist' (cf. II. 103. Thucyd. II. 27) and 'inhabitant' (infra).
6. κτιζομένης Γέλης κ.τ.λ. Cretans joined in the foundation of the colony, which took place 44 years after that of Syracuse, B.C. 690, Thucyd. VI. 4.
8. ἀλείφθη. Ch. 8 n.

9. τῶν χθονίων θεῶν. Demeter and Persephone; cf. vi. 134. *ἱεροφάντης* was the title of the priest of these goddesses, who performed the rite of initiation at the Attic Eleusinia.

10. κτησαμένον, sc. τὴν *ἱεροφάντιαν*.

13. κατήγαγε. The special term for *restoring* from exile, as *κατέρχεσθαι* is for *returning*, *ἐκπίπτειν* (ch. 155) for *being exiled*.

15. ἱεῖδ, probably sacred images or symbols. Cf. i. 60, the restoration of Pisistratus through similar agency.

17. ἐπ' ᾧ τε...ῥέπονται. The Infinitive is the commoner constr., cf. ch. 154; the Indic. is rare, except in Hdt. and Thucyd.

19. πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, 'in connexion with what I am told' (i.e. ὃ δὲ λέγεται κ.τ.λ.). τοῦτο, i.e. *κατεργάσασθαι*—*τοσοῦτον*.

21. τοῦ ἅπαντος. The use of the article here is remarkable; it usually gives a collective idea, when found before *πάν*. Cf. ch. 53, οἱ σύμπαντες. i. 132, τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι, 'the whole body of Persians'. Here the exact meaning seems to be, 'the typical anybody', like ὁ τυχῶν, ὁ σώφρων, ch. 104 (11) n.; also i. 51, τὸ συντυχὸν ἔργον.

νεόμικα, I have (once and for all) formed the opinion, 'I consider', 'it is my settled opinion that'. Cf. viii. 79. So *πέποιθα*, *πέπεισμαι*.

22. ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς, 'of a high spirit'. Cf. v. 124, ἦν... ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, δς...δρησµὸν ἐβούλενε.

154 5. ἀναλαμβάνει, 'assume', usually 'recover'. Cf. iii. 73, ἀναλαβεῖν (τὴν ἀρχὴν) = ἀνασώσασθαι.

μουναρχίην. A general term, including the hereditary *βασίλεια* as well as the *τυραννίς* which was usually established by revolution, Ar. Pol. v. 10.

9. Αἰνησιδήµου, father of Thero, the future tyrant of Agrigentum, belonging to the ancient clan of Emmenidae and, according to Pind., descended from Polynices of Thebes, Ol. ii. 47.

10. Ἰπποκράτες. Some words are missing after this name.

11. ἀπεδέχθη...εἶναι. Ch. 51 (6) n.

13. Νάξους. Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily,

from which Callipolis (site uncertain) and Leontini were offshoots, was founded by Chalcidians B.C. 735, Thucyd. vi. 3.

Ζαγκλαίους. Also of Chalcidian origin. Their city, afterwards known as Messana, was some years later treacherously seized by Samians, abetted by Hippocrates himself, whom the subject Zancleans had summoned to their aid, vi. 23.

14. **τῶν βαρβάρων.** Sicels, the native race.

18. **πέφυγε.** Cobet's conjecture *ἀπέφυγε* is not improbable, though, as Stein shows, *δουλοσύνην διαφεύγειν* is the common expression in Hdt.

πρὸς Ἰπποκράτους, 'at the hands of H.', depending on the verbal notion in *δουλοσύνην*. Cf. ch. 139, *ἐπιφθονον πρὸς*.

19. **Κορίνθιοι.** Both Coreyra and Syracuse were founded from Corinth B.C. 734. Coreyra very soon became hostile to the mother city. Thucyd. i. 24 etc.

20. **ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλάρῳ.** Pind., Nem. ix. 40, records the distinction gained in this battle by Chromios, a friend and connexion of Gelo's.

23. **Καμάρινα.** Camarina, founded from Syracuse B.C. 599, had revolted and been destroyed. The territory, however, was surrendered by Syracuse, Thucyd. vi. 5, and the town rebuilt by Hippocrates, to be once more razed by Gelo, ch. 156. It was finally refounded by the Geloans, and appears as the rival of Syracuse in 415 B.C. The name of the city has become famous in connexion with the oracular answer given to its inhabitants, when they proposed to drain the surrounding marshes: *Μὴ κίνει Καμάρων· ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*. Cf. Virg. Aen. iii. 700, *fatis numquam concessa moveri...Camarina*. The oracle was disregarded, and the marshes were drained. The city thereby became more accessible, and fell a prey to its foes.

2. **κατέλαβε.** Cf. ch. 38.

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3. **Ὑβλη.** A Sicel town in the interior.

8. **τῷ ἔργῳ,** pointing the contrast to *τῷ λόγῳ*, a very favourite antithesis, especially in Thucyd.

9. **ἀποστερήσεις.** Here in its proper sense, i.e. *cheating*, or *defrauding of a trust*; meaning to *debar from*, rather than to *deprive of*. See Shilleto on Thucyd. i. 69.

10. τοὺς γαμόρους, the families of the original settlers, i.e. the nobles, here, as at Samos, Thucyd. viii. 21. In Attica the γαμόροι were a middle class.

The Demus included the remainder of the free inhabitants. The Cyllyrians (Cillicyrians) were conquered and enslaved Sicels, and held a position similar to that of the Helots in Laconia and Penestae in Thessaly.

14. Κασμένης, another Syracusan colony.

15. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος. According to Aristotle, the commons were weakened by their own lawlessness, Pol. v. 2.

156 3. Γέλης...ἐπικρατέων. Replacing the gen. usual after λόγον ποιέεσθαι or ἔχειν. Cf. i. 18, τοῦ ἔπεος λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, i. 4, etc. With the expr. here cf. i. 62, ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον.

4. Ἰέρωνι. The future Tyrant. Gelo had two other brothers, Polyzelus and Thrasylbulus.

6. ἦσαν ἅπαντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι, 'S. was all in all to him'. Cf. i. 122, ἦν τε οἱ...τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. iii. 157, πάντα δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὁ Ζώπυρος. Theocr. xiv. 47, Λύκος νῦν πάντα.

7. ἀνά τ' ἔβραμον κ. ἀνέβλαστον. As of a plant; cf. viii. 55, βλαστὸν ἀναδεδραμηκότα. II. xviii. 56 Thetis, speaking of Achilles, ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρπει' ἴσος. Cf. also Psalm cxliv. 12.

9. κατέσκαψε. Ch. 154 (23) n.

11. Μεγαρέας. Divided into τοὺς μὲν παχέας and τὸν δὲ δῆμον. Megara Hyblaea, on the E. coast, was founded by Megarians from Thapsos, Thucyd. vi. 4.

13. παχέας. Other designations of the higher classes were οἱ πλούσιοι, ἔχοντες, ἄριστοι, βέλτιστοι, ἐπικεῖς, χαρίεντες, καλοκάγαθοι, γνῶριμοι. Cf. Cicero's 'boni'.

20. Εὐβοέας. Euboea was an offshoot of Leontini.

For Gelo's policy see Curt. vol. iii. p. 207. "Gelo desired a great city, but one without paupers; he wished for a population of as many educated and well-to-do citizens as possible, in which...the specialities of the Doric and Ionic character, and habits of life, should be reconciled with one another. Syracuse may therefore be called the first Hellenic town of first-rate importance."

23. συνοίκημα, 'companion', lit. that with which one dwells.

5. παραλαμβομένους. Cf. ch. 150, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παρα- 157
λαμβάνειν, and infr. 168, 169.

6. τὸν ἐπιόντα...πυνθάνει, i.q. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος. Cf. ch. 116, τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. If the participle had been used predicatively, the constr. would have been regular. Cf. ch. 177, ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσην ἔοντα κ.τ.λ.

8. πάντα τὸν ἵοιον στρατόν. Cf. ch. 56, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

12. δυνάμεις τε ἦκας μεγάλης, 'the power you hold is great'. ἦκειν τινός is usually found with an adv. (or adv. expression) marking the stage attained in a certain sphere or quality, e.g. πόρρω σοφίας ἦκει (he has got far on in wisdom), ἐς τοῦτο ἀμαθίας ἦ. etc. Hence, commonly, without idea of progress (like εἶδε ἔχειν), εἶδε ἦκειν χρημάτων, τοῦ βίου etc. 'to be well off for, in a good position as regards money' etc.

Here, instead of the adv. μεγάλως or εἶδε, we have, by attraction, an adj. agreeing with δυνάμεις. In viii. 111 both adj. and adv. are used; θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκειον εἶδε. Reiske, Stein and Classen here emend to μεγάλως.

13. τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ch. 145 n.

14. ἀρχοντί γε Σικελίης. Cf. ch. 163, ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, a still stronger expression.

16. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. ἡ Ἑλλάς looks like a 'pendent nominative', but can hardly be called so. The sentence is a mixture of two constructions: (1) ἀλῆς...γενομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς χεῖρ μεγάλη γίνεται, (2) ἀλεοῦς γενομένης τῆς Ἑλ. χεῖρ...συνάγεται, the confusion arising from the fact that ἡ Ἑλλάς is 'summed up' in χεῖρ μεγάλη. Cf. ch. 185, where καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα follows, as though after a Gen. abs.

χεῖρ. Ch. 20 n.

25. ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶν. Ch. 50 n.

2. πολλὰς ἐνέκειτο. Cf. Thucyd. iv. 22, Κλέων πολλὰς 158
ἐνέκειτο λέγων κ.τ.λ. See also ch. 10 (37) n.

5. αὐτοὶ δέ, 'whereas etc.'

6. συνεπάσθαι, 'to join in attacking'.

7. ὅτε μοι. The circumstances are unknown.

νεῖκος συνήπτο. Cf. vi. 108, *συνάπτειν μάχην*.

8. Δωριεύς. Dorieus, younger brother of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, frustrated in his ambition by his brother's succession to the throne, left Sparta, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in Libya, set out once more with a band of colonists to Sicily, where he was defeated and slain by the Egestaeans and Phoenicians, v. 46.

9. ἐκπρήξασθαι. 'Exact vengeance for.' Cf. v. 94, *συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς*.

10. ὑποτείνοντος, 'offering', holding out as a bait. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 48, *ὑποτείνοντος αὐτοῦ... βασιλέα φίλον ποιήσεν*.

τὰ ἐμπόρια. Probably the trading stations, through possession of which Carthage monopolised the corn trade of Sicily.

13. τὸ κατ' ὑμέας... νέμεται. The Indic. makes the assertion very strong. Cf. i. 124, *κατὰ... τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας*, 'as far as his zeal is concerned, you are a dead man'.

14. ὑπὸ βαρβάρουσι. The idea of *subjection* is more prominent than that of agency; hence the dat. Cf. i. 91, *ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι*. Pl. Rep. 558 D, *ὕδης ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος*.

15. ἀλλὰ... γάρ. Ch. 143 n.

κατέστη, sc. τὰ πρήγματα.

17. οὕτω δῆ. Ch. 119 (23).

22. ἱπποδρόμους. Probably the same as ἄμπεποι, light and active soldiers accompanying the cavalry. (Stein.)

159 1. οὐτε... τε. Ch. 8 n.

2. ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώζειν. In imitation of II. vii. 125, *ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώζειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς*. Cf. ch. 103 n.

The Homeric Agamemnon was king of Mycenae. Mycenae in after times was confounded with the neighbouring and more important Argos, to which it became subject, and which claimed the Mycenaean sovereignty; cf. ch. 148. When, however, Sparta rose to the head of the Peloponnese, she found it convenient to assume this dignity herself, making use, no doubt, of the legend which established Orestes at Sparta, after the death of Menelaus, Pind. P. xi. 16. See Grote, ch. 7.

The hegemony of Greece was first ascribed to Sparta by

Croesus, through his envoys; i. 69, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προσ-
τίνει τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

5. Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων. The omission of the
articles implies scorn, as Larcher observes. In ch. 161, this
is further emphasised by the partic. ἐόντες.

8. ἀρξόμενος. Ch. 39 (17) n.

10. σὺ δέ. Ch. 51 n. For infin. ch. 141.

2. ἀπεστραμμένους, 'uncompromising', 'repellent', from 160
ἀποστρέφειν (Lat. *aversari*), to turn away from, reject. Cf.
infr. προσάντης, and VIII. 62, ἐπεστραμμένα, earnest, eager (i.e.
turned to the subject in hand).

3. τὸν τελευταῖον. Lit. 'as the last'.

5. κατιόντα. Perhaps used as passive of καταχέω. Cf.
i. 212, κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς κ.τ.λ. For the use of κατα-
χέω with ὄνειδος cf. Od. xxii. 463, ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὄνειδα
χεύαν.

8. ὅκου. Ch. 118 n.

12. ἡμεῖς. 'Pluralis magnificentiae'; the 'royal we'.

13. εἰ τοῦ μέν...κ.τ.λ. Lit. 'suppose you take the command
of the land forces, and I of the fleet'; cf. ch. 235, εἰ νέας...ἀπο-
στελεις. I have here followed Stein, who in explanation of
this elliptical constr. quotes (ch. 5 n.), among other passages,
II. xvi. 558, κείται | Σαρπηδῶν. ἀλλ' εἰ μιν ἀεικισσάμεθ' ἐλόντες.
'There lies S.; suppose we seize and dishonour him.' Ib. xv.
571, xxiv. 74, Eur. Phoen. 724, εἰ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς προσβάλοιμεν ἐκ
λόχου; 'what if we...?'

16. τούτοις ἀρέσκεσθαι. Others read ἀρέεσθαι, for this
rare pass. cf. ix. 33, οὐδ'...ἐτι ἐφ' ἀρέεσθαι τούτοις.

ἢ ἀρέσκεσθαι...ἢ ἀπέναι. Notice the coordinate constr.,
where in Engl. a dependent condition would be used, 'if you
are not content, you must etc.'; cf. Pl. Legg. 737 B, ἀνεγ-
κλήτους δεῖ τὰς οὐσίας...κατασκευάζεσθαι ἢ μὴ προΐναι (if we are
to advance), also ch. 84 (3) n.

18. προτείνεται, 'proposed', used both in Act. and Mid.

8. γλίχαι, usually with a gen. Cf. VIII. 143, ἐλευθερίης 161
γλιχόμενοι. Also with infin., as in Dem. xviii. 297, τῆς μὲν εἰς
τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηθῆαι γλίχεται....

ὅσον, i.q. ὅσον χρόνον.

12. ἀπολογούμενος, 'making answer', not without the idea of defending the speaker's position.

ἀπάσης, sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς, from ἀρχεω.

ἀπελυνόμενος, 'becoming debarred from'; cf. ch. 205, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλείης.

13. οὕτω ἔχει τοι. 'Look you how the case stands.' τοι, ethic dat. Cf. viii. 125; and for similar omission of the noun, viii. 144, ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων, supr. ch. 158, κατέστη.

14. ὦδε, 'in that case', expl. by εἰ συγχωρήσομεν.

πάραλον. οἱ πάραλοι generally means: (1) in a special sense, the 'coast men' of Attica, one of the three ancient divisions of the people; cf. i. 59, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων. (2) the crew of the sacred vessel Paralos.

19. Ἑλλήνων, with πλείστον, as infr. with μῦνοι.

20. Συρηκουσίους ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ch. 159 (5) n.

21. τῆς ἡγεμονίης. Abl. gen., expressing separation. Cf. ii. 80, τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ. II. v. 848, εἰκε... πολέμου κ. δηϊότητος. xv. 655, νεῶν ἐχώρησαν.

παρεχόμενοι. Cf. ch. 61.

22. μῦνοι...Ἑλλήνων. An exaggeration; the Arcadians and Cynurians also claimed to be αὐτόχθονες, viii. 73. Most of the important families at Athens had sprung from immigrant refugees, and the majority of the people were Ionians from Achaea; still, there had been no war of conquest, and the original inhabitants had lived on peaceably beside the new comers (cf. Thucyd. i. 2), and thus the epithets αὐτόχθονες and γηγενεῖς are commonly applied to their race by Attic writers.

μετανάσται, from μεταναστῆναι, lit. to rise up and move to.

23. Ὅμηρος. II. ii. 546:

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον...

τῶν αὐθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς

τῷδ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνήρ

κοσμήσας Ἰππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

The testimony of Hom. was, according to tradition, employed by the Athenians on a previous occasion, when they

proved their right to Salamis, against the Megarians, by quoting Il. 557, 8 of this Book.

24. τάξει τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι. Ch. 52 (7) n.

4. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε. 'The sooner you go, the better'; lit. 162 'you could not go too soon', (however fast you were to go).

5. τὴν ταχίστην. Ch. 48 n.

6. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ. This simile is attributed to Pericles in his Funeral Oration by Aristotle, Rhet. i. 7, but does not occur in the version of Thucyd.

10. τὴν ἐωντοῦ στρατιῇ, sc. ἔλεγεν εἶναι (he meant that it was).

στερισκομένην...συνμαχίης, 'the loss of his alliance to Greece', not 'Greece deprived of his alliance'. Cf. ch. 23 (10) n.

1. τοσαῦτα...χρηματισάμενοι, 'after holding this inter- 163 view with G.' Cf. III. 118, ἤθελε χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

8. ἡμέλησε. Usually with Gen., like μέλει. Cf. II. 121, εἰ τούτων ἀμελήσει, but also II. 66, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καίμενον.

δ δέ. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

11. ἐς Δελφοῦς. The choice of Delphi, as safe ground for a neutral, accords with the scared and unpatriotic tenor of the oracular advice given to Athens and Crete.

12. παραδοκίησόντα...πεσέεται. Cf. VIII. 67, ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται, also ch. 168, and VIII. 130. In πεσέεται (turn out) the metaphor is from a dice throw. Cf. Soph. Fr. 763, αἶε γὰρ εὐ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι. Eur. Or. 603, οἷς πίπτουσιν εὐ [γάμοι].

14. διδόναι, sc. ἐκέλευε. Cf. ch. 162.

15. τῶν, i. q. τούτων ὧν, the first being a gen. of connexion, or possibly of price. In English we speak of doing homage for possession. We have already noticed, in several cases, that Hdt. uses the gen. very freely, to express a more or less general connexion, where the case cannot well be referred to any more special usage; cf. ch. 36 (7), 80 (7).

3. εὖ βεβηκνῖαν, 'on a firm footing', hence 'prosperous'. 164 Cf. Soph. El. 672, τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εὖ βεβηκόσιν.

4. ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. Very rarely, as here, without a negative expressed or implied; cf. ch. 104 n. and VIII. 30, 116.

5. ἐς μέσον... ἀρχήν, cf. III. 142, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεῖς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω.

6. παρὰ Σαμίων. So Stein: other edd. follow one ms. in reading μετὰ, though παρὰ gives the best sense. Cadmus was probably son of Scythes, king of Zancle, VI. 23. This Scythes, when his city had been seized by the Samians, was treacherously imprisoned by Hippocrates (ch. 154), escaped to Persia, and was welcomed and honoured for his fidelity by Darius, who gave him the tyranny of Cos. This he handed over to his son, some time before his death, which took place in Persia. Cadmus then abdicated, in order to revisit his native Sicily, and combined with Anaxilaus of Rhegium to recover Zancle from the Samians, Thucyd. VI. 4. At this time he had been superseded by Anaxilaus, whose rival, Gelo, was therefore glad to befriend him, and doubtless deemed him a fit emissary on account of his previous connexion with Persia. See Stein.

8. Μεσσηνίην. Zancle, Sicel for a *sickle*, was so called from the shape of the coast; the name Messene was given to it by Anaxilaus, who was himself of Messenian extraction.

10. διὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν... εὐσαν, 'on account of his uprightness, of which he had personal experience besides'. Cadmus had a store of δικαιοσύνη besides the special kind displayed on the occasion mentioned. Cf. ἄλλως, ch. 16 (35) n., ἄλλος, ch. 50 (21) n.

12. ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ. Ch. 18 (20) n.

13. ἐλείπετο. Left as a memorial of himself, hence the Mid.; cf. I. 186, μνημόσυνον ἐλείπετο, VI. 109, and supra ch. 24.

18. ἀπὸ—ἄγων. A very striking and unusual instance of 'mesis' or separation of prep. and verb. The figure is common in Hdt.:—

(1) With ὦν and the Aorist; cf. ch. 10 (62) n.

(2) In repetitions, with μὲν and δέ, the prep. only being repeated with δέ (verb understood). Cf. III. 126, κατὰ μὲν ἔκταυε Μιτροβάτρεα, κατὰ δὲ τὸν παῖδα.

(3) With conjunctions; cf. ch. 12, μετὰ δὲ βουλευεαι, and ch. 156, ἀνὰ τ' ἔδραμον.

165 1. Ἀέγετα... οἰκημένον. It is gathered from this and other statements that Hdt. himself visited Sicily.

2. *δμως*, expl. by *καὶ μέλλον ἄρχεισθαι. καὶ*, 'even though'.

5. *Αἰνησιδήμον*, cf. ch. 154. Gelo married Demarete, daughter of Thero, and the two princes were in close alliance. The latter is praised on all sides for his mildness and justice, though he punished a subsequent revolt of Himera with great severity. In B.C. 476 he gained an Olympian victory, celebrated by Pind. Ol. II. and III.

Ἀκραγαντίνων. Acragas was founded from Gela B.C. 582. In 570 its government was seized by the notorious Phalaris, who was finally crushed by Telemachus, an ancestor of Thero. Under Thero the city rose to great prosperity.

6. *Ἱμέρης*. Founded from Zancle B.C. 648.

9. *Διγύων*. From the South of France.

Ἑλισύκων. Believed by Niebuhr to be Volscians. The armies of Carthage were always mercenary and mixed.

11. *βασίλῃα*. One of the two elected Suffetes, who were the chief magistrates at Carthage. Cf. Aristot. Pol. II. 11.

1. *τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης*. According to Diodorus, Himera 166 was fought on the day of Thermopylae. The tradition shews how completely the Greeks felt the unity of the contest, between Hellenic freedom and civilisation on the one hand, and Oriental despotism and barbarity on the other. From the same feeling rose the story assigning the same day to the battles of Plataea and Mycale. It is uncertain whether there was a formal alliance between Carthage and Persia, but it can hardly be doubted that an understanding of some sort existed.

10. *τὸ πᾶν...ἐπεξελεῖν*. Cf. ch. 50, *τὸ πᾶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι*.

2. *οἰκότες χρεωμένοι*, 'who argue from probability'. Cf. 167 ch. 103; and I. 30, *τῷ ὄντι χρησόμενος*, 'speaking the truth'.

5. *ἄλκυσαι*. Subject, *αὐτοῖς*, to be supplied; 'they dragged on the conflict'. Cf. VI. 86, *προφάσις εἰλον*, 'delayed by making excuses'.

6. *τὴν σύστασιν*. See ch. 142 n.

7. *ἐκαλλιπρέπο*. Ch. 113 n.

8. *σώματα ὅλα*. The occasion being all important.

12—14. *Ἀμάλκα...οἱ*. Cf. ch. 155, *τοὺς γαμόρους—τοῦτους* etc. The death of Hamilcar was regarded as a sacrificial act of self-devotion on behalf of his country. Stein, who denies that

the Phoenicians practised hero-worship, suspects confusion with the cult of Melkart, to whom voluntary sacrifices of this kind were sometimes offered.

16. τὰ ἀπὸ Σικελίης. Lit. the affairs proceeding from S., i.e. concerning S. Cf. iv. 195, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου (the story about the island), and *infr.* ch. 195.

168 1, 2. τάδε—τοιούδε. Both pointing to what follows.

2. καὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. For Corecra τῆς Σικελίας καλῶς παρά-
πλου κείται, Thucyd. i. 36.

7—10. ὡς οὐ...ἐστὶ...ἀλλὰ...εἴη. Cf. ch. 151 n.; it seems impossible *here* to draw any distinction in meaning. Perhaps the optat. is used in the latter clause in order to shew clearly that the words are still dep. on φράζοντες. For τῇ—ἡμερέων cf. ch. 104, τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους.

11. ἄλλα νοεῦντες, 'with different intent'. Cf. ἀλλοφρονέ-
οντες, ch. 205.

14. Πύλον. Πύλος ἡμαθῆεις of the *Iliad*, Nestor's home.
ἀνεχώρουν. Ch. 36 n.

15. καὶ οὗτοι. Like *Gelo*.

16. ἀελπτόντες. Very rare, and only in the partic. Cf.
II. vii. 310, ἀελπτόντες σόον εἶναι (Αἴαντα).

23. παρασχόντες ἄν, sc. εἰ ἠθελήσαμεν.

πλείστας μετὰ Ἀθηναίους. Corinth came next, with 40
ships. The Corecraean navy was of earlier development
than the Athenian, and ranked second in importance at the
outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Thucyd. i. 14, 33.

25. τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι. Homeric ἀποθύμια ἔρδειν, opp.
το κατὰθύμιος.

26. πλέον τι οἶσσεσθαι, 'gain some advantage over', 'fare
better than'. Cf. *Jebb*, *Soph. O. T.* 37.

28. ἐπεποίητο, 'was ready'.

30. ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων. Blowing from the north during
Aug. and Sept. Cf. vi. 140, ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων.

31. ὑπερβαλεῖν, 'to pass', i.e., here, 'to double'. Cf. viii.
137, ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην.

33. κακότητι, ch. 140 n. λειφθῆναι, ch. 8 (18) n.

34. διεκρούσαντο, 'evaded'; common in Dem., of debtors
and criminals.

1. ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες, 'appointed to deal with them', 169 usually in a hostile sense; cf. ch. 132 n. on ἐπὶ.

6. ἐπιμέμψεσθε κ.τ.λ. 'You complain of what sufferings the help you gave Menelaus brought you, and now you ask whether you are to repeat the folly that cost you so dear before!'

7. Μενέλεω. Dep. on the verbal notion in τιμωρημάτων. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 76, περὶ...ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως.

8. μηνίων. Cf. μῆνις, ch. 134 n.

οἱ μὲν, i.e. οἱ Ἕλληνες.

συνεξεπρήξαντο. Cf. ch. 158, ἐκπρήξασθαι.

9. αὐτῷ. Dat. of advantage or interest; not after συν in συνεξεπρ. αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον = his death. Cf. 16 (3) n.

1. λέγεται γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Daedalus, having offended Minos, 170 with whom he had taken refuge, fled from his prison, and, crossing the Aegean on his waxen wings, escaped to Sicily. Here King Cocalus befriended him by treacherously slaying his pursuers.

2. κατὰ ζήτησιν. Ch. 136, κατὰ ταῦτα.

3. Σικελίην. So called after the Sicels from Italy, who overpowered the older Sicanians. Thucyd. vi. 2.

6. Πολιχνιτίων τε καὶ Πραισίων, of non-Hellenic race.

8. Κάμικον. Built on a rock overhanging the later Acragas.

10. λιμῷ συνεστεώτας. Cf. ch. 142 n.

13. ἐκβαλεῖν. For the pass., in this sense, we find ἐκπίπτειν, 'to be washed ashore'. Cf. viii. 13, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας.

14. κομιδὴν, 'means of return'. Cf. viii. 53, ἔσοδος, 'means of entrance'; and ch. 85, μάχη, 'manner of combat'.

15. Ὑρίην, probably the Roman Uria.

16. μεταβαλόντας. Intrans. Cf. viii. 109, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

17. Ἰήπυγας Μεσσηπίους. The Messapians were one among the three tribes inhabiting the Iapygian peninsula.

ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι. A striking exception to the rule that the Infin. must be preceded by the article when governed by a prep. Cf. also i. 210, ἀντὶ ἄρχεσθαι. vi. 32, ἀντὶ εἶναι.

19. *Ταραντίνοι*. Tarentum was founded from Sparta, Rhegium from Messana and Chalcis.

20. *χρόνῳ ὑστερον ξανιστάντες*, 'tentative'. Cf. ch. 139 n. and 150.

22. *δὴ*, emphasises the superlative.

23. *οἱ*, with *τῶν ἀστῶν* (partitive gen.), i.e. *δοιοὶ τῶν ἀστῶν*.

25. *οὕτω*, 'there', lit. 'under these circumstances'. Cf. ch. 119 n.

26. *οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμὸς*, cf. ch. 191, 'no count was kept of'. For *ἀριθμὸς* cf. ch. 60.

27. *ἐπιτροπος*, cf. ch. 7 (8) n. Miccythus held the government until the sons of Anaxilaus reached manhood and demanded it from him, 467 B.C.; he then retired to Tegea.

30. *τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας*. Cf. ch. 27 (10) n. The statues were known to Pausanias.

171 5. *ἄλλους τε... Ἕλληνας*. Cf. Od. xix. 173, of Crete:—

ἐν δ' ἀνθρώποι

πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις,

ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,

ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκριτες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,

Δωριεὲς δὲ τριχάϊκες, δίοι τε Πηλεασγῶι.

6. *τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ*. Minos was the grandfather of Idomeneus, who fought at Troy, Od. xix. 180.

8. *Κρήτας*. Led by Idomeneus and Meriones. II. xiii. 329.

11. *τοῖσι προβάτοις*, 'their flocks and herds'. Cf. viii. 137, where sheep and goats are distinguished as *τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων*.

11—13. *ἔσται... Κρήτας*. The construction is condensed: the settlement of the island by 'a third set of "Cretans"' being regarded as a continuous act, lasting up to the present time. For the Infin. cf. ch. 148 n.

172 2. *ὥς διέδεξαν*, 'as they clearly shewed'; used also impersonally; *ὥς διέδεξε*, 'as became manifest'. Cf. ii. 134.

οἱ Ἀλεάδαι. Cf. ch. 6 n.

6. *ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ*. Cf. ch. 145.

7. *πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. So, during the Ionian Revolt, *οἱ πρόβουλοι ἐπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον*, and in the

panic at Athens, after the Sicilian disaster, a board of πρόβουλοι were appointed. Strictly the term denotes a committee who prepared measures for a larger βουλή, or for a popular assembly.

11. τὴν ἐσβολήν. Lit. the entrance, cf. infr. ch. 173, ἐσβολήν, τῇ περ καὶ ἐσέβαλε, hence esp. 'a pass'.

12. ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. ch. 215, and i. 143, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου. Homeric σκέπας ἀνέμοιο. The Gen. is objective: 'in shelter from the war'.

16. προκατημένους τοσοῦτο, 'stationed so far in front of'. In viii. 36, προκατῆσθαι τῶν ἐωντοῦ, the original idea is merged in that of defence alone; so here πρὸ ὑμῶν, lit. 'before you', comes to mean 'in your defence'.

18. οὐ βουλόμενοι. 'If you refuse.' Οὐ βούλεσθαι forms a single notion: hence οὐ is used instead of μή, although in a condition, cf. ch. 46 (10), n. 3, also ch. 101.

20. οὐδαμῶς γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Bähr compares '*ius consultorum illud*': *Nemo ultra posse obligatur*.

6. Ἀχαιῆς. Achaea Phthiotis. Alos, or Halos, is mentioned as under the sway of Achilles, II. ii. 682.

9. Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω, 'the coast of Macedonia'. Cf. ch. 128.

12. κατὰ μυρίους, 'about 10,000'. Distinguish from the distributive use of κατὰ, viii. 113, ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους (a few from each).

15. ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων. The Spartan Polemarchs appear to have ranked next to the kings, in whose council of war they sat. They held the command of the six *morae* into which the army was divided, as well as certain civil functions. From this passage it would seem that they usually belonged to the royal family.

19. ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνα. He was in fact στρατηγός τε καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων. His father had sent earth and water to Darius, and Alexander himself was in the service of Xerxes, though anxious to do his best for the Greeks, cf. viii. 136, ix. 44.

23. καὶ τὰς νέας. From which troops could be landed further South.

25. ἐφαίνετο ὡν, 'evidently was', distinguished from ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, 'appeared to be'.

26. δοκέειν δέ μοι. Cf. ch. 24 (1) n.

ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πείθον, a more prosaic constr. than the personification of Soph. El. 198, δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔπος δὲ κτείνας.

28. κατὰ... πόλιν. Cf. ch. 128.

174 4. τε καὶ ὄντος, '(and being) in fact'.

5. οὕτω δὲ, *tum demum*, cf. ch. 119 n.

6. οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, 'with no further hesitation'. Cf. Thucyd. viii. 87, ἐπιφανείς οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς, 'giving a decisive manifestation'.

ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι, 'the business', *par excellence*, i.e. the war.

175 2. πρὸς τὰ λ. Ch. 153 (19) n.

ἔξ. In its proper sense. Alex. was the source of the advice, not the speaker. Cf. ch. 18 (20) n.

3. τῇ τε... χάροισι, 'how they should begin the war, and in what part of the country'.

ἵστασθαι is properly to marshal, set (the battle) in array; cf. ch. 9, ἀβουλότατα πολέμου ἵστασθαι. Od. ix. 54, στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην, and intr. φύλοπις ἔστηκε.

4. οἴοισι. With reference to the nature of the ground.

6. καὶ μίᾱ. The reading of two mss. only; the rest give καὶ ἄμα (so Bähr), which makes τε superfluous. μίᾱ is explained by the following τὴν δέ—Τρηχινίων.

13. γῆς τῆς Ἰσταιώτιδος, 'in the territory of Histiaea', a town of Euboea, cf. viii. 23. Larcher is clearly wrong in calling Artemisium 'a branch of the sea', and translating ἐπὶ 'A.' 'into A.'

14. ἀγγού... ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι, 'near enough for receiving information'. So too in a contrary sense. Cf. Xen. Mem. iii. 13. 3, (ἄδωρ) ψυχρὸν ὥστε λούσασθαι, 'too cold for washing'; without ὥστε, ch. 207.

176 1. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, 'First, as to Artemisium'. I have adopted Stein's punctuation, which is quite necessary.

2. ἐκ... ἑυπέος, 'after the expanse of the Thracian Sea'. (Lit. after the T. S. wide as it is.) For the repetition of the prep., cf. ch. 173, ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἑσβολήν.

3. συνάγεται, *impers.*, 'there is a narrowing'.

5. τῆς Εὐβοίης. With both Ἀρτεμισιον and αἰγιαλός.

6. ἦδη (cf. ch. 184 n.) with δέκεται, which, like ὑποδέκεται (*infra*), replaces the commoner ἐκδέκεται. Cf. II. XIX. 290, δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.

Artemisium is described by Plutarch, Them. 8, as αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπταμένος. The Temple was, in his days, surrounded by trees and by a circle of marble pillars erected in memory of the battle.

7. διὰ Τρηχίνος. Here the land of Trachis is meant; the name belongs to both the city and its territory. See Map.

8. ἡμίπλεθρον, 50 feet.

9. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'at this point'.

τὸ στενότατον...τῆς ἄλλης. This common idiom is probably due to confusion between the Genitives following Superlatives and Comparatives. Cf. ch. 164, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων (i.e. τῶν ἄλλων). II. 161, εὐδαιμονέστατος ἐγένετο τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων.

Fifty feet was the narrowest width of the Pass of Thermopylae proper, but there were two other spots, at either end, where the passage was actually narrower.

11. Ἀλπηνούς, a Locrian town. Cf. ch. 216. The Pass is regarded as facing toward the invader; hence ἐπισθε—ἐμ-προσθε.

9—11. ἐστὶ τὸ στενότατον...τοῦσα ἀμαξίτος. For the attraction, cf. ch. 41 (9) n.

13. Ἀνθελῆς πόλις. Cf. ch. 200.

14. τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρας. Hdt. is mistaken; the coast lies E. and W.; the mountain side is therefore S., the sea N. of the Pass.

17. τενάγεια. The sea has gradually receded; what is described by Livy as *loca invia palustri limo et voragini-bus* is at the present day a marsh of a mile or two in width, traversed by a road practicable in summer.

18. θερμὰ λουτρά. The two hot springs, from which the Pass has gained its name, are of exceptionally clear water, 100° in temperature, and well up into stone basins provided for the bathers.

Χύτρου, 'The Cauldrons' (B.).

19. βωμὸς... Ἡρακλῆος. The summit of Oeta was the legendary scene of Heracles' death and apotheosis, cf. ch. 198; and thither the Roman consul ascended to do sacrifice in his honour B.C. 191, on the spot then known as Pyra. To him the surrounding country was sacred, and after him the Spartan colony, founded near Trachis in 426 B.C., was named Heracleia.

18, 19. τὰ—καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖσι. Cf. ch. 59 (5) n.

22. ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ κ.τ.λ. 60 years after the Trojan War, the Thessalians, migrating from Thesprotia in Epirus, to oust the Boeotians from the modern Thessaly, 'gave the impulse to a series of re-settlements'. Cf. Thucyd. i. 12. Curt. i. p. 106 seqq.

25. τοῦτο προσφυλάξαντο, 'took this precaution'. τοῦτο, 'internal' acc., cf. ch. 114 (1) n.

27. ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χάρος, lit. 'in such a way that the ground would become channelled'. Hardly different in meaning from 'in order that' (opt. *without* ἂν). The desired result is perhaps represented as less within the agent's direct power, more dependent on circumstances. The constr. of ἂν with opt. of purpose, after ὡς, ὅπως, (ὁφρα), is common in Homer and Hdt., but not found in Attic prose. Gdw. § 44. I. N. 3. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 364, ὅπως ἂν... βέλος ἡλίθιον σκῆψειεν, 'so as that the weapon might not' etc. (Paley).

31. ἔκειτο, 'was lying in ruins'. Cf. Pl. Rep. 425 A, ἐπαγορθοῦσα εἰ τι τῆς πόλεως ἔκειτο, and viii. 25, τοὺς κειμένους, 'the fallen'.

177 3—6. προσκεψάμενοι... σφί ἔδοξε. With this anacolouthon cf. that in viii. 87, rendered less harsh by the parenthesis, καὶ ἡ—ἔδοξε οἱ.

178 1. διαταχθέντες, 'as they had been divided', i.e. some to each of the two spots.

3. ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ. Cf. viii. 134, ἱροῖσι χρηστηριάζεσθαι, by means of victims.

5. καὶ σφί κ.τ.λ. The words are said to have been:—

ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λῶϊον ἔσται.

Advice given to the Athenians, ch. 189.

10. *ἐξαγγελλαντες...κατέθεντο*. As Stein observes, a complete hexameter. With *χάρην ἀθ. καταθέσθαι*, 'to earn undying gratitude', lit. to lay up a store etc., cf. ch. 220, *κλέος καταθέσθαι*.

12. *βωμὸν ἀπέδεξαν*. Cf. v. 89, *τῷ μὲν Διακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν*.

13. *Θυίης*. The foundress of the worship of Dionysus; hence *θυιάδες*.

15. *θυσίησι...μετήϊσαν*. Cf. iv. 7, *θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται*.

1. *ὀρμώμενος*. Ch. 22 (5) n. The main body of the fleet 179 remained at Therma, ch. 183.

2. *παρέβαλε*, intr. So Thucyd. iii. 82, *ναὺς παραβαλεῖν εἰς Ἴωνίαν*. The dat. *νησὶ* is instrumental, the ten ships being the limb, as it were, with which the fleet moves.

3. *ἰθὺ Σκιδθου*. Cf. viii. 38, *ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν*. Att. Ar. Av. 1421, *εὐθὺ Πελλήνης*, and Eq. 254, *εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων*.

6. *οὔτοι*. Constr. *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. Cf. ch. 147.

3. *τῶν ἐπιβατίων*. Cf. ch. 184 (9) n.

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4. *διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι κ.τ.λ.* 'Deeming their first and fairest Greek captive an auspicious [victim].' Bähr tr. *laetum omen captivantes*. Stein, connecting *διαδέξιος* with *διαδέχομαι* (cf. *ὑποδέξιος*, ch. 49), understands *διαδέξιον* (*ἱερὸν*) of a sacrifice of which all partook in turn, quoting a human sacrifice of this nature, iii. 11. As he remarks, the captors were Phoenicians (the ten ships being *δριστα πλέουσαι*), to whom this kind of offering was not unknown. Cf. ch. 167.

7. *τάχα δ'...ἐπαύροιτο*. 'And perhaps he would have some his name to thank in some degree.' As in ch. 150 the *οὐκ ὀπίσσω* (εἴημεν ἂν) was used as an expression of probability or cautious statement in present time, so here it is found expressing probability, or possibility in the past, the use of *τάχα* making the probability more remote.

The same kind of thought is expressed Soph. O. T. 523, by the Aor. Ind. with *ἂν*, in the well-known passage, *ἀλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνεϊδος τάχ' ἂν | ὀργῇ βιασθέν*.

ἐπαύρεσθαι in a bad sense (of being brought ill luck by anything) is common. Hdt. supposes that the name Lion may

part. opt. w. ἂν refers regularly to the
οὐκ ὀπίσσω 440

have brought its bearer misfortune, and marked him out for a violent death. Belief in the influence of names was widespread among the Greeks, as in later times. Cf. ix. 91; Aesch. Ag. 681; Soph. Aj. 430.

Stein imagines that the Phoenician captors learnt the man's name, and were thereby confirmed in their choice of a victim.

- 181 2. καί, 'actually', though one of three against ten.
 θόρυβον παρέσχε. Cf. πρήγματα, πόνον παρέχειν.
 3. Πυθίω. For the end of the story cf. viii. 92.
 4. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην. As Stein points out, Hdt. gives a wide use to the acc. of time. We can hardly expl. ἡμέρην here as an acc. of duration, nor in ch. 203, πᾶσαν ἡμέρην.
 6. κατεκρουργήθη, i.q. κατεκόπη, viii. 92. Cf. iii. 13, τοὺς ἄνδρας κρουρῆδον διασπᾶσάντες.
 9. περιποιῆσαι, Causative of περιεῖναι.
 10. συνδόνος...τελαμῶσι κατελίσσοντες. So in preparing a mummy, κατελίσσουσι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συνδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοι, ii. 86.
 13. ἐκπαγλιόμενοι, implying awe as well as admiration; cf. ix. 48, ἀνθρώπων ἐκπαγλειμένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε. In Trag. with a direct acc., Aesch. Cho. 217.
- 182 3. ἔξοκῶλλαι. The intr. use probably arose thus: (1) ὀκέλλειν ναῦν (of seamen) as infr. ἐπώκειλαν, (2) with ναῦν omitted, (3) ὀκέλλειν, intr. (of the ship itself). Cf. similar alternation of ἐλαύνειν στρατιήν and ἐλαύνειν, intr.; ἐσβάλλειν and ἐσβάλλειν ὕδωρ, ch. 129; κατέχειν and κατέχειν ναῦν, ch. 59.
 4. τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, i.e. τῇ περ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσβάλλει. Bekker, Stein and others emend to the common ἐκβολὰς.
 τοῦ σκάφους, i.q. τῆς νεὸς, as in poetry.
 9. στρατοπεδεύόμενοι. Cf. ch. 121 (2).
 10. παρὰ πυρσῶν. παρὰ personifies the beacons, being usual in this sense with a gen. of a person only. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 282, φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ'...ἔπεμπε.
 13. ἡμεροσκόπους. Properly 'scouts keeping watch the whole day', and returning to head-quarters at night. Cf. vi. 105, ἡμεροδρόμον, a courier practised in travelling without pause.

5. στήλην λίθου. As a warning; *ἔρμα*, a sunken reef. 183

6. τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγγόνει καθαρόν. Seemingly illogical; but the real obstacle had been the invisibility of the reef, not its existence. For the meaning of *καθαρός*, *clear*, cf. Pind. Ol. vi. 39, *κελεύθῳ ἐν καθαρῷ*. Soph. O. C. 1575, *ἐν καθαρῷ βῆναι...τῷ ξένῳ*, 'to keep clear of the stranger' (of Cerberus).

8. παρέντες, 'having let pass', 'after'. Cf. *διαλείπω*, III. 157, *διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας*. Thucyd. v. 10, οὐ πολὺ διαλιπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν.

9. κατηγήσατο, 'pointed out'. Cf. ch. 8 (7) n.

10. ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, colloquially, 'just about where they would pass', so Bähr. To mean *the straits*, the article would have been used. *μάλιστα* adds vagueness; cf. *πηνίκα μάλιστα*; (*about what time?*) and the common use with numerals, ch. 30 (7).

Σκύριος. Scyros, connected by legend with Theseus and Achilles, was at this time inhabited by Dolopes, but was afterwards colonised by the Athenians under Cimon.

11. ἐξάνιουσι—ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα. In trag. with a simple acc. of 'motion', cf. Soph. O. C. 1564, *ἐξανύσαι...Στόγιον δόμον*.

τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας. Dep. on Σηπιάδα, cf. ch. 188. In these cases the partitive Gen. usually comes first, as here; the general before the particular locality.

13. Καστανάης. Lat. Castanea, still abounding in the chestnuts to which it gave their Latin name (R.).

2. ἀπαθῆς κακῶν. Cf. vi. 12, *ἀπαθές πόνων*. i. 109, 184 *ἀπαις ἔρσενος γόνου*. And Soph. *ἔχαλκος, ἀσκενον ἀσπίδων*. This gen., so common after an adj. formed with the privative α-, is one of *connexion*, shewing in what respect the epithet of the adj. is applied.

5. *ἰουσιῶν* κ.τ.λ. Ch. 89.

6. τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον δμ., 'the original numbers'.

9. ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἀνδρας, 'at the rate of 200 men'. Distributive. Cf. St Matt. xx. 10, *ἐλαβον ἀνὰ δηνάριον* 'every man a penny'. Similarly *κατὰ*. Cf. ch. 173.

ὡς λογιζόμενοι, 'supposing we calculate'. Dat. of person judging.

Two hundred men was apparently the usual crew of a Greek ship, cf. viii. 17. The number of *ἐπιβάται*, or marines,

decreased with the development of naval tactics. At the battle of Lade, a Chian ship had 40 on board; according to Plutarch, 18 served on each Attic ship at Salamis, and 10 only was the ordinary number during the Pelop. war.

13. οὗτος κ.τ.λ. 'These make up a further count of 36,210.' Cf. ch. 41 for attraction.

15. τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ, 'to the numbers first given', i.e. the sum of the native crews.

16. ποιήσας κ.τ.λ., 'assuming that etc.' cf. ch. 186. *τιθῆμι* is similarly used. Cf. Pl. Theast. 191 c, *θεὶ δὲ μοι ἐνὸν ἐκμαγεῖον*.

δ τι...ὑπασσον. Lit. whatever there was above or under this number, i.e. whether there were more, or whether there were fewer.

18. ὡς...εἰρήθη. Ch. 97. The 3000 comprised small vessels of all sorts.

19. τρισχῶλια. Predic. 'to the number of 3000'.

ἤδη...εἰεν. *ἤδη* marks the *next step*, whether in time, place, or in a line of thought; often, as here, introducing the conclusion which follows directly from a previous statement or assumption. For mood, cf. ch. 150 (11) n.

24. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ κ.τ.λ. As reckoned from the enclosures at Doriscus, ch. 60. For the cavalry cf. ch. 87.

28. καὶ δῆ. Cf. ch. 186 n.

33. ἐξαναχθῆν, properly of a sea voyage only. Cf. ch. 194.

185 3. δόκησιν, conjecture founded on τὸ οὐκός. Cf. Soph. Tr. 425, *δόκησιν εἰπεῖν*, as opp. to *ἐξακριβῶσαι λόγον*. Hdt. is perfectly candid; he never pretends to accurate information where he knows that he does not possess it. If he makes misstatements, they arise from misplaced confidence, erroneous judgment, and sometimes, it is true, from carelessness; never from intent to deceive.

5. τῶν νήσων. Thasos was the only one of any importance.

8. γίνονται, 'there is a total of'. Lit. 'are making up a total of', viewed as a continuous process. *γίν.* is used idiomatically in the sense of 'amounting to'. Cf. ch. 87, 89, *γίνετο*.

9. Ἑορδοί. This tribe, not previously mentioned, dwelt originally west of Pella, but, like many others, had been driven to found settlements in Mygdonia by the conquering Temenidae, Thucyd. ii. 99, for whom cf. viii. 137.

10. τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. The greater part of the peninsula called after them was held by colonists from Chalcis, though Potidaea, Olynthus, Acanthus, and other cities of importance were of different origin. Cf. viii. 127.

13. τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων. This gen. supplants περὶ, which has been lost sight of in the long enumeration.

14. αὗται ὧν κ.τ.λ. 'These numbers being added to the former, the total of fighting men amounts to etc.' Cf. ch. 157. Here, as there, a subst. and participle are found in the Nom., instead of forming a gen. abs., because the meaning of that subst. is included and summed up in the subject of the sentence (αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες).

16. αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι, i.e. ἀνδρῶν τῶν μαχίμων, by 'hypallage'.

1. τοῦ μαχίμου = τῶν μαχίμων, cf. ch. 103, τὸ πολιτικόν. 186

3. τοῖσι...δκάτοισι, usually fem.

4. καὶ μάλα, 'and indeed', 'and further'. Cf. i. 181, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος...καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ. viii. 66, Δωριέας κ. Λοκροὺς...καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους κ.τ.λ. Also supr. ch. 11 (14).

7. καὶ δὴ ποιεῖ. Cf. ch. 10 (23) n. for the special usages of καὶ δὴ. Also ch. 49, καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο...τὸ ἕτερον ἐρχομαι ἐρέων. Ib. καὶ δὴ τοι...λέγω. Ch. 149, καὶ δὴ λέγειν. Ch. 184, καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεταί.... i. 1, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. From a careful comparison of these examples we may come to learn the real primary meaning of καὶ δὴ, from which the special usages, noticed ch. 10 n., are evolved. The words seem to be used in order to emphasise the noun or verb with which they are connected, and so to show that *the point* is reached. So in the last example quoted, the reader's attention is to be specially drawn to Argos, *the particular place* about which more is to be told. Similarly in the first quotation from ch. 49, καὶ δὴ is used to announce that Hdt., having dismissed the first, now proceeds to *the second point* in his

argument. So too in the second quotation, *καὶ δὴ τοι λέγω* introduces the special result to be drawn from the assumption. It is not difficult to understand the transition from this usage, marking that we have at last reached the point of the discourse, to that in which *καὶ δὴ* is best translated 'already' (see note ch. 10); nor again to that where it marks the acceptance of an offer (coming to the point in a bargain), and is used in affirmative answers. The third special use, that in *suppositions*, is an outcome of this last: the speaker argues with himself, or with an imaginary interlocutor, and accepts the proposed suggestion. So with the example from *Medea*: *καὶ δὴ τεθνήσκει*, 'Well then, granted they are dead'.

Here, our Engl. idiom would be, 'however, let us assume, etc.'; Hdt. more naïvely says, 'well then, I assume'.

9. *ἐκπληροῦσι*. The *μυριάδες* are regarded as a measure to be filled up. Cf. ch. 29, *τὰς μυριάδας—ἀποπλήσω*.

10. *ὄντω...Θερμοπυλίων*. 5,283,220 is undoubtedly an astounding total, and we cannot feel surprised that the figures of Hdt. have staggered all but his warmest partisans.

According to R., the numbers in which he is most at fault are probably: (1) the Asiatic infantry, (2) the Arabs and Libyans (a guess), (3) the numbers and crews of the small craft, (4) the European land force, (5) above all, the number of attendants, in which he may have been misled by Greek custom. He further omits to make any allowance for deaths on the march and desertions of stragglers.

The remaining numbers are probably more or less accurate. Ctesias, the studied detractor of Hdt., gives the land force as 800,000, exclusive of chariots, the ships as 1000, but his authority has been proved worthless by recent discoveries, and we must be content to remain in ignorance of the true numbers. At the same time, we may in some degree realise the effect they produced on the little band of patriotic Greeks through the pictures of both Aesch. and Hdt., which to the majority of minds convey a far more real impression than any exact statement of hundreds and thousands. Cf. Grote, Pt. II. ch. 38. A different view is taken by Thirlwall, ch. 15, to

'there seems to be no sufficient ground for supposing

that these estimates are greatly exaggerated'; and it is well to remember that many statements of Hdt., to which formerly no credence was given, have been justified by modern research.

6. *κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν*. A specially fine breed of sporting dogs, very popular in Persia. The Satrap of Assyria kept such a large pack that the tribute of four important villages consisted in providing their food, I. 192.

8. *θωύμα παρίσταται*. Cf. ch. 46 (15). In a diff. sense, I. 23, τῷ δὴ λέγουσι θωύμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, of a marvellous occurrence.

προδοῦναι, 'should have failed'. Cf. VIII. 52, τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκός.

9. *ἔστι τῶν* = *ἐνίων*. Cf. ch. 137 (7) n.

11. *χοίνικα πυρῶν*. Not large rations, the *χοίνιξ* being about a quart; apparently, the minimum supplied to slaves.

13. *τελειόμενας*. Cf. ch. 118.

ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, 'per day'. Cf. v. 53, πεντήκοντα κ. ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι. Od. xiv. 105, αἰεὶ... ἐπ' ἡματι. The constr. is not found in Att. prose. Hdt. also uses both gen. and acc. after ἐπὶ, with the same meaning; cf. v. 117, ἐπ' ἡμέρης ἐκάστης. II. 149, ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην.

Hdt.'s arithmetic is not all that could be desired. On his supposition, the no. of medimni would be 110,067½ (or 165,100 bush. 2 pks. 1 gall.). In spite of the vast preparations—the corn ships, magazines and hospitality of the subject tribes—Aesch. speaks of famine during the retreat. Pers. 792:

αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει,
κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

18. *μεγάθος*. To the Greek mind an essential to all κάλλος, hence the common combin. καλὸς τε μέγας τε. Cf. Arist., Eth. iv. 3, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι (ἐστι). With this passage cf. iv. 91, where Darius in his Scythian expedition engraves an inscription declaring himself to be ἀνὴρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

ἀξιονικότερος, i.q. *ἀξιώτερος*. Cf. ix. 26, ἀξιονικότεροι...τάξιν ἔχειν.

188 2. κατέσχε ἐς. Cf ch. 59.

6. ἐπ' ἐκείνησι, 'beyond these' (after), cf. ch. 2 (11), 107 (17).

7. πρόκροσσαι...ἐς πόντον κ. ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας, 'projecting into the sea to the depth of 8 rows'. Cf. II. xiv. 35, τῷ ῥα προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν (sc. τὰς νέας, the shore being small). In Hdt. iv. 152 the word, which is very rare, is used of an ornamental bowl, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλὰι πρόκροσσαι εἰσι (embossed). κρόσσαι are projecting battlements (see L. and S.), and in II. 125 the ascending stages by which a pyramid was built.

ὠρμέοντο. The active form, as supr., is more common.

8. ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. So in military phrase, Thucyd. v. 68, κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. IV. 93, ἐπ' ἀσπίδας πέντε κ. εἴκοσιν (of the depth of file).

9. ἐξ αἰθρίας...ἐπέπεσε σφί χειμών. ἐκ is common in describing sudden transition. Cf. Soph. O. T. 454, τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος. Xen. Cyr. I. 4, ἐκ δακρύων γελᾶν.

11. Ἑλλησποντίν. A cold rainy N.E. wind blowing straight across the Aegean from beyond the Euxine, known also as καικίας. Further south in Attica, this wind was not distinguished from the due north Boreas. Cf. ch. 189.

13. ἔμαθον. Cf. ch. 37 (12).

14. τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον, sc. ὥστε δυνατόν εἶναι ἀνασπᾶσαι. οὕτω has here a force gained from the context, which is very common in τοιοῦτος, ch. 29 (17) n. For the gen. cf. εὖ ἤκειν τινός, ch. 157.

οἱ δ'. δὲ with the antecedent is one form of 'δὲ in the apodosis'; cf. ch. 51 (3) n. The previous ὅσοι μὲν is answered by ὅσας δὲ infr.

16. μεταρσίας. This word, like μετεώρους in Att. prose, is applied properly to what is raised off the earth, hence to anything not on 'terra firma', as here ships at sea.

17. ἐξέφευγε. This descriptive Imperf. lengthens, as it were, the time of danger. Cf. ch. 42 (11) n.

Ἰπνοῦς. 'The Ovens', τόπον τραχὺν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον, Strabo, p. 448. The whole of the shore below Pelion is dangerous and rocky.

19. *Μελίβοιαν*. One of the cities of Philoctetes, lying in a bay between the skirts of Pelion and Ossa.

21. *ἦν τε...ἀφόρητον*. Hdt. is fond of this periphrasis, cf. III. 109, *πολλὸν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων*. In both these cases *χρῆμα* and its adj. form the predicate; this is shewn by the use of the article before the gen., which is one of definition. *ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος χρ. ἀφ. = ἦν ὁ χειμῶν χρ. ἀφόρητον*. Cf. Ar. Pl. 682, *πολλὴν ὅσῃαν νομίσας τοῦ πράγματος = ὁσιώτατον ν. τὸ πρᾶγμα*.

4. *ἄλλου χρηστηρίου*, i.e. besides the two given ch. 189 140, 141.

6. *᾽Ωρεΐθυιαν*. She was carried off by Boreas, while straying beyond the Ilissus. Pl. refers to the legend, Phaedr. 229 B.

7. *τὸ κῆδος* (Lat. *affinitas*), connexion by marriage. 50116

8. *ἔρμηται*, 'has gone forth', i.e. 'is spread abroad'.

14. *περὶ Ἄθων*. *βορῆς ἀνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος* had caused the shipwreck of Mardonius, vi. 44.

14—16. *εἰ...εἰπεῖν*. Hdt.'s belief in Boreas is not so firm as in the greater gods; he would not have questioned the action of Apollo or Demeter etc.

16. *8' ὦν*. Cf. ch. 9 (45) n. *ἐκείνα*. Cf. ch. 34 (6).

18. *ἀπελθόντες ἰδρύσαντο*. This was done subsequently. The altar was standing in Plato's time.

2. *πόνος*. The word is used of any great conflict, not 190 necessarily 'disaster', for in vi. 114, the battle of Marathon is called '*πόνος*'. Cf. also viii. 89.

οἱ *θαλίστας*, sc. *λέγουσι*, cf. ch. 10 (4). I have adopted Stein's punctuation. 50116

6. *γιοχέοντι*, = *γιοχῶντι ὄντι = γῆν ἔχοντι*, 'a landholder'; a diff. meaning from the Homeric epithet of Poseidon, *γαιοχός*. St. compares *κληρουχέων*.

10. *περιβάλετο*, 'secured for himself'. *περιβάλλεσθαι* is properly 'to put round oneself', e.g. *ἔρκος* (ch. 191), *χλανίδα* (iii. 139); hence, to *assume*, *appropriate*. Cf. *περιποιεῖσθαι*.

The Persians recovered some of their treasures by means of a diver, viii. 8.

12. *καὶ τοῦτον*. Like the rest of mankind, Ameinocles had his sorrows.

13. *ἄχαρις*. A favourite word of Hdt., which he uses in a very wide sense, sometimes with a considerable degree of irony. He applies it to anything more or less 'undesirable', most commonly in the phrase *οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πάσχειν* (no harm), ch. 50; hence, by 'litotes', to the horrible and terrible. Cf. ch. 36, viii. 13. Similarly *συμφορὴν ἀνεθέλητον*, ch. 88.

συμφορὴ παιδοφόνος. *παιδὸς φόνος* constituted the *συμφορὴ*. Cf. *τιμαὶ βούθυτοι*, Aesch. Supp. 706, where *τιμαὶ*=*βοῶν θυσίαι*. The father had probably killed his son accidentally.

191 3. *οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός*, cf. ch. 170. *νέας* (supra) comprised only the triremes.

6. *ἐκ*, 'made out of'.

8. *ἐντομα ποιῦντες*. So Menelaus, detained in Egypt by adverse winds, ii. 119, *λαβὼν δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐντομὰ σφεα ἐποίησε*, a step which the Egyptians, not unnaturally, resented. The word *ἐντομα* is generally used of victims offered to departed spirits. *Sacrifices victims*

καταειδόντες. *ἐπαεῖδειν* is more common in this sense.

γόησι. Instr. 'by means of enchanters'. Bekker, foll. by Bähr, emends to *γοῆσι*, 'with incantations'.

τῷ ἀνέμῳ. For the dat. after *κατ-* cf. ch. 9, *καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν*, and ch. 140 (16) n.

10. *ἢ ἄλλως κως κ.τ.λ.* The sentence is delightfully naïf, and thoroughly characteristic of Hdt., in its cautious simplicity.

14. *ἢ Σηπιάς*. According to one legend, Sepias was named in memory of the transformation of Thetis into a cuttle fish (*σηπία*), while pursued by Peleus.

192 3. *ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος*, 'the beginning of the storm'. Cf. Soph. O. C. 477, *πρῶτην ἔω*, 'earliest dawn'. Also Hor. Epp. i. 1. 41, *sapientia prima*, the beginning of wisdom. Bähr omits *ὁ*.

7. *τὴν ταχίστην ἡπείγοντο*. Ch. 62 (1) n.

8. *ἐλπίζοντες*, 'in the expectation', lit. having adopted the idea. *ἐλπίζειν* is not to *hope* in Hdt.; its meaning is neutral, implying neither wish nor fear. Cf. viii. 12, *ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέσθαι*, also viii. 53, 96. Similarly *ἐλπεσθαι*, cf. ch. 218, 237, and ix. 113, *ἐλπόμενος τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι*.

ὀλίγας τινάς, 'only a few', *some few*, as we say. *τινός*

adds vagueness: the Greeks did not expect any *particular* ships or any particular number.

9. ἰλθόντες, i.e. from Chalcis.

10. Ποσειδέωνος Σωτήρος ἐπωνυμίην, lit. the title of Poseidon the Saviour, i.e. 'Poseidon's title, the Saviour'.

11. ἀπὸ τούτου. From that *circumstance*, i.q. infr. ch. 193, ἐπὶ τούτου. Cf. ch. 121, ἀπ' ἧς.

νομίζοντες, ch. 2 (14) n.

1. ἐπαύσατο... ἔστρωτο. 'Had ceased...was smooth.' Ch. 193 29 (4) n. *ἐπαύσατο*

4. ἰθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν, sc. ὁδόν. Cf. 62 (1) n.

5. φέροντα. The gulf is a marine road.

6. τῆς Μαγνησίας, with χῶρος.

8. ἐπ' ὕδαρ... ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας, ch. 32 (5) n.

According to the commonest legend, Heracles was left behind in Mysia, searching for his lost friend, the beautiful Hylas, who had been stolen away by the water-nymphs, while drawing water. Theocr. XIII. Ap. Rhod. i. 1276.

11. ἀφήσειν ἐς τὸ πῆλαγος, sc. τὴν νῆα. ἀφήσειν replaces the Herodotean ἀπήσειν, in order to mark the connexion with *Disce* 'Ἀφεταί. Iolcos, where the Argonauts assembled, lay at the head of the bay.

12. ὄρμον ἐπὶ οὐκ εἶναι. Cf. ch. 58 (6) n. *ὄρμον ἐπὶ οὐκ εἶναι*

9. ἐπ' αἰτίῃ. ἐπὶ with dat. expresses the *cause*, as well 194 as the *object in view* (infr. ἐπὶ χρήμασι). In either case the idea is, perhaps, that of the basis of the action, or accompanying condition. Cf. ch. 32 (5) n. *as the following is the*

11. ἄδικον... ἐδίκασε. Cambyses punished the same offence in another royal judge with equal severity. v. 25 *ἐν αὐτῇ*

12. λογιζόμενος κ.τ.λ. By Persian law capital punishment could not be exacted for an isolated offence, but only when the culprit's offences outweighed his services, i. 137.

15. ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα. A convenient euphemism, employed by Cambyses also, in confessing his brother's murder, iii. 65. The idiom of the double comp. is common both in Gk. and Lat. Cf. Cic. Mil. 29, *libentius quam verius*.

16. βασιλεία... διαφυγών, μὴ ἀπολέσθαι. μὴ ἀπολέσθαι ex-

presses the *negative result*, as after verbs of preventing etc. Cf. ch. 51 (6) n.

18. *ἔμελλε*. 'He was destined', a different use from that of ch. 23.

διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι. This periphrasis is more common with the perf. partic., but the aor. is found in Soph.: e.g. *σιωπήσας, λυπηθείς, ἀντιδοῦν ἔσει*. Cf. also Xen. An. vii. 5, 18, *κατακτανόντες ἔσεσθε*. Hdt. is particularly fond of the constr. with participles; cf. ch. 196, *ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν*, and ch. 9 (15) n.

20. *μαθόντες*. Cf. ch. 37, *μαθόντι*.

195 3. *Ἀλαβάνδων...Καρίη*. Cf. viii. 136, *τῆς Φρυγίης Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη*. The city lay in the border country.

5. *Πιάφου*, a Phoenician settlement.

6. *τὰς ἑνδεκα*. Cf. ch. 29 (12) n.

9. *ἀπό*. Cf. ch. 168 n.

10. *τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμόν*. Usually *ὁ Ἰσθμὸς* simply.

196 5. *Θεσσαλίας*. In a restricted sense, the dwelling of the Thessalians proper of ch. 132, not including the surrounding country, which fell under their influence and bore their name.

ἐσβεβληκὼς...τριταίος, 'had already entered three days before'. For *καὶ δὴ* cf. iv. 102, *τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐβουλεύοντο* (the kings were already holding the consultation, when the messengers arrived to assemble them), and ch. 10 (23) n. *τριταίος*, usually, 'on the third day after'. Cf. vi. 120, *τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ*. Here the context requires the other meaning.

8. *Θεσσαλίας ἵππου*. *Θεσσαλική* is the common form.

πυθόμενος κ.τ.λ. The excellence of the Thessalian mares was proverbial; cf. the oracles quoted by R. and Stein:

*γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἀμεινων,
ἵπποι Θρηκίαι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ γυναῖκες.*

Schol. Theoc. xiv. 48;

and

*ἵππον Θεσσαλικὴν, Λακεδαιμονίαν τε γυναῖκα,
ἄνδρας θ' οἱ πίνουσ' ἱερὰν πηγὴν Ἀρεθούσης.*

Schol. Il. ii. 761.

11. *Ὀνόχωνος...Ἡπιδανός*. Cf. ch. 129.

1. Ἄλον. Where the Greeks had landed to occupy Tempe, 197 ch. 173.

Ξέρξη οἱ. Cf. ch. 167.

4. τὸ ἱερόν, 'the holy place', i.q. infr. τὸ ἄλσος. In π. 112, on the contrary, ἱερόν is the building itself, as distinct from the τέμενος and ἄλσος.

Λαφυστίου Διός. The title Λαφύστιος (cf. λαφύσσω, I devour) points to the custom of human sacrifice, and is similar to that of Dionysus, Ὠμηστής. The chief seat of this god's worship was on the Laphystian hill, near Coroneia in Boeotia.

5. Ἀθάμας. According to the common account, Ino, the second wife of Athamas, contrived first to bring about a famine, then to have her step-children Phrixus and Helle doomed as a national sin-offering upon the altar, from which they were rescued, on the Golden Ram, by their goddess-mother Nephele.

8. ἀέθλος. ἀεθλος is (1) a contest, as in Hom.: (2) a task; cf. i. 126, τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον: (3) a penal task, imposition of any sort, as here. Distinguish from (viii. 26) τὸ κείμενον ἀεθλον, the appointed prize.

9. ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανείου, 'to keep clear of the town hall'; cf. infra, ἔργετο αὐτοῦ. The verb is used with an abl. gen., expressing actions as well as places avoided. Cf. ix. 108, ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει κ.τ.λ.

As the prytaneum was, so to speak, the central home of the community, and contained the sacred hearth, so exclusion from it involved excommunication from civic life.

10. λήϊον, 'the people's house' (R.), connected with λαός, Att. λεώς. Cf. also λειτουργία, public service.

12. θύσσεσθαι, ch. 39 (17) n. The accursed family, and especially its head, would probably try to conceal their identity, and to mingle with the other citizens.

πριν ἢ...μέλλη. Ch. 8 (33) n.

16. ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες, 'are convicted of having entered', i.e. are identified as those who entered.

17. ὥς θέσται. The return to the sing. is harsh, but serves to make it clear that the victim in each case is a single one.

^{καὶ ἡλεῖ}
 ἐγγέοντο. The finite verb helps to relieve the long continued orat. obl.

στύμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς, like an ordinary sacrificial victim. πᾶς closely with πυκασθεῖς, 'decked all over' (Stein). ^{ω, πέλει}
 18. ^{ὡνάειτο} ἐξαχθεῖς, sc. ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανηίου, θύεται being understood.

The scene was perhaps some deserted spot on the sea shore, as in the case of the human victims at the Attic Thargelia. The particip. ἐξαχ., instead of a finite verb, parallel to θύεται, is irregular.

19. τοῦ Φρύξου παιδός. Phrixus had three other sons.

20. καθαρμόν τῆς χώρας, i.q. κάθαρμα or φαρμακός, a scape-goat, by whose death the land was to be delivered from a drought, sent in consequence of the ill-treatment of Nephele by Athamas.

^{μυθιστο} 22. ἀπικόμενος οὗτος κ.τ.λ. In 'Athamas', the drama of Soph., Heracles appeared as the deliverer.

26. κατὰ, 'in the neighbourhood of'.

198 3. κόλπον θαλάσσης. The Malian Gulf.

4. ἀμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίη. The rise and fall of the tide in the Mediterranean is scarcely perceptible, but on this coast, owing to the flatness, it is considerable; hence the observation of Hdt. (R.).

9. λόντι, dat. of 'standard', or 'person judging'.

10. Ἀντικύρη. This, as well as the Phocian Anticyra, was famous for its hellebore, the cure for madness. Cf. Hor. A. P. 300, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*. Its exact site is difficult to ascertain, owing to the great change which has taken place in the course of the Spercheius, and in the coast line. See map.

12. διὰ εἰκοσὶ κον σταδίων, ch. 30 (6) n. At the present day the Dyrras and Melas unite, and flow into the Spercheius.

13. Ἑρακλεῖ καιομένῳ, ch. 176 n.

199 5. Τρηχίς. The site of Trachis, on the hill side commanding the plain, is marked by catacombs.

6. πλέθρα. Here, square measure. The expanse amounts to about 5087½ acres, and was therefore sufficient for the encampment of the Persian army.

9. Ἀσωπὸς, still recognisable from the ravine (διασφάξ)

through which it passes, flowing *now* straight to join the Spercheius.

1. Φοῖνιξ. Evidently so named from the red iron de- 200
posit, which still distinguishes a small stream, just 15 furlongs
from Thermopylae proper. This stream, however, has also
changed its course, and now joins the Spercheius.

3. κατὰ δὲ...ἔστι. The narrow way 'in front of' the
Pass mentioned ch. 176.

5. δέδηται. The road had to be firmly paved and built
up, owing to the softness of the surrounding alluvial land.

8. Ἀνθήλη. No traces of Anthele, nor of the sacred
buildings, remain. χώρος εὐρύς is a stony slope of triangular
shape.

11. Δήμητρος...ἱρόν. Demeter and Apollo shared the
presidency of this, the greatest of Hellenic sacred leagues.
Its assemblies were held twice a year, in spring and autumn,
both at Delphi and Anthele. The members, who, in spite
of their widely differing grades of importance, held equal
votes, included, besides the tribes mentioned in ch. 132, the
Dorians, Ionians, and Phocians. Two great statutes of the
Amphictyony, the object of which was mainly religious, forbade
members to raze each other's cities, or to cut off their water
supply in case of siege.

12. Ἀμφικτυόνος. Yet another eponymous hero, intro-
duced simply in order to explain a name. Cf. ch. 61. Ἀμ-
φικτύονες are in reality 'the dwellers round'. Cf. viii. 104,
ἀμφικτύονες, and ch. 148, περικτύονες etc.

3. ἐν τῇ δώδω. In the passage where the hot springs 201
and the well were, between the two narrowest spots, by the
Phoenix and Alpeni.

9. μέχρι Τρηχίνος, 'as far south as Trachis'.

πρὸς νότον κ. μεσαμβρίην. Cf. ch. 129.

10. φερόντων, 'lying towards', 'in the direction of'.

ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου, the mainland of Greece.

4. Ὀρχομενοῦ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Distinguish fr. the Boeo- 202
tian Orchomenos of viii. 34.

6. Ἀρκάδων. The Arcadians were a warlike people, and
had for many years resisted the growing power of Sparta.

7. Φλιούντος. A Dorised city of Achaean origin, lying between Argos and Sicyon.

8. Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. The ancient power of Mycenae had been transferred to Argos, but not her ancient spirit.

203 1. ἐπικλητοὶ ἐγένοντο, 'had been summoned to their aid'. Cf. v. 75, of patron divinities, ἐπικλητοὶ σφί ἐόντες εἶποντο, and infra VIII. 101, where ἐπικλητοὶ are specially summoned councillors.

8. αὐτοὶ...ἐπεκαλέσαντο. They did not take the field spontaneously, nor in obedience to any superior city, but on the summons of the united patriot force, who, as the champions of Greece, might well call themselves οἱ Ἕλληνες.

6. πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, 'every day'. Cf. 181 (4) n.

7. εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ. The passive of ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ. Cf. ch. 207, VIII. 23.

10. οὐ γὰρ θεὸν κ.τ.λ. So Dem., speaking of Philip, μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, IV. 42.

12. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένη. 'From the moment of his coming into being.' γινομένη explains ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

11—13. εἶναι δὲ...μέγιστα. The whole history of Hdt. is an illustration of this truth, cf. ch. 46.

13. αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν θνητῶν.

14. δόξης, 'expectation', strong hope (of success). Cf. the splendid lines of Aesch. Suppl. 95 (Ζεὺς) λάπτει δ' ἐλπιδῶν ἀφ' ὕψιπύργων | πανύλεις βροτοῦς. δόξα may here possibly be 'reputation', but this meaning seems less forcible; cf. Thucyd. II. 42, ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

15. ἄν. Stein raises a doubt as to the genuineness of this word, and there are certainly grave objections to it, for (1) if taken with πεσεῖν, which is hardly possible after ὀφείλειν, it destroys the whole force of the reflexion, the point of which is that X. is bound to fail, not that he is liable to the chance of failure (πεσεῖν ἄν), which would be but a poor encouragement: (2) to take it (as Stein) with ὀφείλειν (= ὀφείλοι ἄν) is very harsh, and, like the former interpretation, weakens the meaning.

204 2. ἐκάστων, after στρατηγοί.

4. Λεωνίδης...τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Leonidas belonged to the

elder and more honoured line of kings. The less honourable branch was descended from Procles, younger twin brother of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, vi. 52, and was at this time represented by Leotychides, kinsman and successor to the deposed Demaratus. For the pedigree of Leotychides, cf. viii. 131.

According to the tradition of their descent from Heracles, the Spartan kings were not Dorians, but Achaeans, and of a different race from their people.

12. **ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.** ^{ἀπὸ βασιλέως} Ch. 205, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος. Cf. ἐκ τῆς ἰδέης (straightway), ἐκ νέης, ἐκ καινῆς, etc.

2. **Κλειόμενος.** After an eventful and aggressive life, 205 Cleomenes went raving mad, and was put in confinement, but managed nevertheless to make away with himself.

Δωριεύς. Cf. ch. 158.

ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος. Cf. ch. 161. ^{ὡς φανερὸν ἀπὸ}

4. **ἄπαιδος ἱρσένος γόνου.** Cf. ch. 184 (2) n.

7. **ἀνέβαινε.** Notice the tense, 'came to devolve upon'. **ἀνεχώρησε** and **περιῆλθε** are also used with the same meaning. Cf. ch. 4, and i. 187, ἐς Δαρείον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιλιή.

8. **Κλειομβρότου.** Cf. viii. 71.

9. **Κλειόμενος θυγατέρα.** Gorgo. Cf. ch. 239.

10. **ὅς τότε κ.τ.λ.,** referring to the clause ending **βασιλιήν**, the words between having formed a double parenthesis.

ἐπιλεξάμενος τε...έόντες. 'Having selected 300 of the appointed class (**ἀνδρας τ. κ.**) who had sons living at the time.'

300 horsemen was the customary royal guard (cf. viii. 124), though Hdt. mentions a special 100 in vi. 56. At Mantinea King Agis was attended by **οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι**. The choice of those who left representatives of their family still living is characteristic of the policy of Sparta, which throughout attached great importance to the preservation of its true Dorian citizens. In spite, however, of all precautions, **διὰ τὴν λιγανθρωπίαν ἀπώλετο**, Arist. Pol. ii. 9.

For **τε...καί**, which in sense join **τοὺς κατεστεῶτας** with **τοῖσι έόντες**, both expressions being descriptive of **ἀνδρας**, cf. ii. 79, **ἰδοὺν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μόνην γενέσθαι**, and Thucyd. iv. **ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσύναις ταῖς πολλαῖς**. For **ἐτόγγαμον**, cf. 102, n.

We might, however, understand that there were not as many as 300 of the class, and that the number had therefore to be filled up from outside.

13. τοὺς...εἶπον. 'Whom I mentioned, and included in the list.' Cf. ch. 97. *ἡ μελέη*

17. μηδίζαν. Subj. to κατηγο. This is the common Attic constr.; cf. Thucyd. i. 95, κατηγορεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ μηδισμός.

19. εἴ τε καὶ κ.τ.λ., 'or whether they would go so far as to, etc.' *ῥιπιδεῖ (σπινδι) ὅσοι ἄς αλλοίωσι τὴν γῆν*

20. ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον. A hexametric ending.

ἀλλοφρονέων is used in various senses:—

(1) Thinking of other things, i.e. abstracted; cf. Od. x. 374, ἐσθέμεναι δ' ἐκέλευεν, | ἀλλ' ἤμην ἀλλοφρονέων.

(2) Unconscious, fainting; cf. Theocr. xxi. 128, πᾶς δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ | κεῖτ' ἀλλοφρονέων.

(3) Out of one's mind, frenzied; cf. Hdt. v. 85, ὑπὸ τούτων (thunder and earthquake) ἀλλοφρονήσαι.

(4) As here, 'with adverse feelings'.

According to Diodorus, the 400 Thebans were sent voluntarily by a patriotic faction. The Thebans of the next generation, however, make no mention of this fact, though they state, in excuse of their μηδισμός, that δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα...καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὖσα ἐαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεν (i.e. ἐμήδισεν), Thucyd. iii. 62.

206 5. ὑπερβαλλομένους, 'delaying'. Also 'to postpone', foll. by an acc. (1) of the action; (2) of the time during which; cf. ix. 45 (ἦν ὑπερβάλλεται) τὴν συμβολήν. Ib. 51, κείνην τὴν ἡμέρην συμβολήν μὴ ποιούμενοι.

6. Κάρνεια. A Peloponnesian festival, of ancient date and warlike character, held in August, in honour of Apollo Carneus, to whom the whole month (Κάρνειος, Eur. Alc. 449) was consecrated; see Smith's *Antiqu.* At numerous important crises Sparta's action was thwarted by similar religious, or nominally religious, scruples, e.g. at the time of Marathon, before Plataea, and during the occupation of Pylos in 425 B.C.

ὀρτάσαντες. Cf. ch. 2 (5) n. *εὐρυπρόσωπον* *hepta festival*

9. ἔτερα τοιαῦτα. A frequent expression, characteristically

Greek, from its exactitude: the actions of the allies would be distinct and yet identical, cf. ch. 39 (11).

10. Ὀλυμπιάς. The 75th historic celebration; the games lasted five days, concluding with the day of the first full moon after the summer solstice, but hostilities were forbidden throughout the month (ιερομηνία). *at the same time as the*

12. διακριθῆσθαι...τὸν πόλεμον. Cf. viii., 18, of the combatants themselves, διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας. *also 'conquer'*

6. Φωκίων καὶ Λοκρῶν. The silence of the Boeotians 207 showed their real intentions.

περισπερχόντων. The word expresses intolerant opposition.

10. ὀλίγων...ἀλέσθαι, lit. few for warding off, i.e. 'too few to etc.' Cf. ch. 175 n., ἀγχοῦ...ᾧστε.

4. εἰσι...ποιοῖεν. Cf. ch. 168.

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6. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης. In an enumeration the most important person or thing always comes last; cf. the common ἄλλοι τε καί.

10. τοῦ τείχεος, ch. 176. The wall ran between the two hot springs.

12. ὁ δέ. Cf. ch. 6 (28) n.

ἐμάνθανε. Cf. ch. 37. Infra ch. 209 (7), μαθεῖν has the common sense, 'to understand'.

τοῖσι...τὰ δπλα ἔκατο, 'who were stationed, encamped'. Cf. ix. 52, ἐθεντο...τὰ δπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

15. τὰς κόμας. The Spartans, like the aristocrats at Athens, had retained or revived (cf. i. 82) the ancient usage of wearing the hair long. At Athens the custom evidenced foppery or Laconism in any man below the rank of knighthood, cf. Ar. Av. 1282. Hence arose the curious phrase, found v. 71, ἐκόμησε ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, 'He aspired to royal power', 'assumed a grand air with a view to...'. *with w. much antipathy!*

19. ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε. *with w. much antipathy!* ἐγκυρεῖν, usually followed by the dat., ch. 218, here takes a gen. on the analogy of the simple κυρεῖν. Similarly ἐντυγχάνειν, iv. 140, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυγχόντες.

prelud. 1. τὸ ἐόν, 'the truth'. Cf. ch. 237, τῷ ἐόντι. i. 95, τὸν ἐόντα 209 λέγειν λόγον.

3. ἀλλ'...γάρ. To be distinguished from the elliptic use of ἀλλὰ γάρ, ch. 143. Here ἀλλὰ belongs to μετεπέμψατο, γάρ and its verb being anticipatory as in ch. 135.

7. ἕκαστα τούτων. Cf. ch. 43, ἐκείνων ἕκαστα.

9. καὶ πρότερον. Ch. 101—4.

11. γελωτά με ἔθου, ch. 105. For γέλωτ, 'laughing-stock', cf. III. 29, οὐ χαίροντες γελωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε. Soph. O. C. 902, γέλωτ δ' ἐγὼ...γένωμαι.

τά περ...ταῦτα, 'what trouble would come of this' (constr. τά περ πρήγματα ἐκβησόμενα ὥρων ταῦτα), lit. 'what trouble I saw this would turn out'. Cf. Eur. Med. 229, κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν ἐκβέβηχ' οὐμὸς πόσις.

13. δ'γὼν μέγιστος, 'my highest endeavour'.

16. ἔχων ἐστί. Cf. ch. 28, ἀρκέων ἐστί βίος. 167, ἐστί λεγόμενος.

19. τὸ ὑπομένον = τοὺς ὑπομένοντας. Cf. ch. 103, τὸ πολιτικόν, and 223, τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου.

25. τοσούτοι, so many and no more. Cf. Thucyd. II. 29, διὰ τοσούτου, this short distance, opposed to πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ.

27. χράσθαι. Cf. ch. 141.

ὥς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη. A great criminal. Cf. I. 138, of the Persians, ἀσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος.

210 1. τέσσαρας ἡμέρας. 'He let four full (ἐξ) days elapse', cf. ch. 183.

5. ἀναιδείη...διαχρώμενοι, 'through sheer impudence and recklessness'.

8. ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι, 'charged headlong'; the mid. φέρεσθαι is used of the rushing wind, and of persons carried on by an impetus, cf. VIII. 91. The act. is rare in this sense; cf. VIII. 87, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φίλῃ.

10. μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες, 'heavily punished'. Cf. ch. 22.

13. ἀνδρες. Frequently in this strong sense. Cf. II. 120, ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἔων. III. 134, ἀνδρα εἶναι τὸν προστεῶτα.

14. δι' ἡμέρης, 'throughout the day'. Cf. VI. 12, πόνον παρείχε δι' ἡμέρης.

5. ὕδαρνης. Ch. 83.

6. οὐδὲν πλεον. Ch. 168 n.

10. τὴν Πυλαίην, sc. ἀγορὴν, used to denote the League's meeting place, as well as the meeting itself.

15. στήμναι. The promise is not fulfilled. Similarly in i. 106 and 184, Hdt. promises to give an account of the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, and of the early kings of Babylon, though no such descriptions are to be found in his writings. These omissions have been thought a proof that our author died before he had put the final touches to his work.

214 2. Καρύστιος, 'of Carystus', one of the chief towns of Euboea.

5. περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, 'who guided the Persians round by the mountain'. περιηγέσθαι, like κατηγέσθαι and the simple ἦγ., takes a dat. of the person and acc. of the sphere. Cf. ch. 183, and ix. 15, αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σ. Cf. ch. 7 (7) n.

8. ἐπεκέρυξεν. ἐπεκέρυσσειν (ἐπι) τινι (χρήματα) is a technical phrase for *setting a price* on the head of any one.

10. κου, 'surely'.

φεύγοντα... αἰτίην, 'lived in exile to escape this charge'. φεύγ. Imperf. Distinguish from the technical Attic, φεύγειν δίκην, 'to stand one's trial'.

12. εἰδείη... εἴη. 'For Onetas would be likely to know the path, even without being a Melian, if he had been much in the district.'

The Opt. may be explained, as in the cases we have already noticed, by the point of view of the writer, whose idea is 'that Onetas might turn out to be acquainted, etc., if it were to be shewn that he had been etc.' Cf. ch. 180, 150.

Hdt. is explaining why the nationality of Onetas is not quoted as a third proof that Ephialtes, and not he, was the traitor.

ἐὼν μὴ, 'without being', if he were not; the negation, though known to be true, is put as a supposition, and μὴ, not οὐ, is therefore correct, cf. ch. 101. For the order Stein compares ch. 96, ὡς οὐ στρατηγός.

215 3. τῶν ἰσθρατῆγε' Ὑδάρνης. The 10,000 Immortals.

9. ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. ch. 172. For the Thesalian inroad cf. ch. 176.

taking it easy
τ κ ε π α γ α ρ ο υ

ἐκ τε...Μηλιεῦσι. 'So long before had the Malians proved it (i.e. ἡ ἐσβολή) of no use', i.e. of no use as a point of defence. For the meaning of χρηστή cf. III. 78, τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ ῥόξα ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν. (Stein.) Others take ἡ ἀτραπὸς as subject, and transl. οὐδέν χρηστή, 'pernicious'. This rendering, however, seems forced, although it is certainly more natural to take ἡ ἀτραπὸς as subj. to καταδέδεκτο.

2. τῆς διασφάγος, cf. ch. 199. The gorge, which would be quite out of sight of the Greeks in the Pass, begins close to Trachis and the site of Xerxes' camp.

3. κατὰ ῥάχιν, along a ridge, N. of the summit of Callidromus or Anopaea.

8. Μελάμπριον. So called after a surname of Heracles, who here encountered two of the comic robbers called Κέρκωπες.

9. τὸ στενότερον. The narrow passage at Alpeni behind the Pass proper. Cf. ch. 176.

3. ἐν δεξιῇ κ.τ.λ. See map: all the cliffs immediately overhanging the shore were Trachinian.

5. ἥως τε δὴ...ἐγένοντο. 'As the dawn was breaking they reached etc.' Cf. ix. 47, ἥως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσαντο τὰς τάξεις. Notice the graphic effect of the co-ordinate clauses, and cf. ch. 12 (2) n. Leake estimates the ascent at about 12 miles, and thinks it probable that the Persians took 8 hours over it, from 8 P.M. to 4 A.M.

ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ, i.e. the highest part of the ridge they were ascending, not the summit of Callidromus. Cf. infra φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν κόρυμβον.

10. ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηται, i.q. ὑπὸ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν εἰρηται φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτήν. 'By whom it has been stated that it was guarded.' Distinguish fr. εἰρητο, ch. 26, 'orders had been given'.

12. Λεωνίδη, with ὑποδεξάμενοι, for which cf. VIII. 102, ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσῃ.

2. ὦδε, with ἐμαθον. ὡς δὲ λέγουσιν

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6. ἀνὰ τε ἔδραμον...καὶ ἐνδυνον καὶ κ.τ.λ., 'sprang up and were beginning to arm themselves, when instantly the barbarians were upon them'. The Imperf. represents them still in the act of arming. Bähr and Bl. read ἔδυντο.

17. ἐπιστάμενοι, 'imagining' (wrongly), a meaning common in Hdt. Cf. viii. 25, 88, 132.

18. ἀρχὴν, 'originally', cf. ch. 220, viii. 128, 132, etc. From this sense of 'originally', or 'to begin with', arose the use of ἀρχὴν with negatives to mean 'at all'; cf. ch. 9, οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν = 'to begin with, I do not even mention', 'I do not even go so far as to mention', i.e. 'I do not mention at all'.

19. οἱ 84. Ch. 6 (28) n. Leake supposes them to have spent five hours on the descent.

219 2. Μεγιστοῖς. Cf. ch. 221.

4. ἐπὶ δὲ...ἐξαγγελαντες. 'Next after him, it was deserters who announced.' For ἐπὶ, 'next' or 'after', cf. viii. 67, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος...μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὡλλοι, also ch. 2 (11) and 107. Diodorus mentions the desertion of a single Aeolian from Cyme.

6. ἡμεροσκόποι. Cf. ch. 183.

220 3. αὐτῷ δὲ...οὐκ ἔχεν. Dep. on νομίζων, or some such word, supplied from κηδόμενος. So infra οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν depends on φάναι supplied from κελύσαι. Cf. ch. 104 (24) n.

With αὐτῷ for αὐτῷ οἱ or ἐν αὐτῷ cf. i. 86, ἔλεγε...ὡς αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκείνος εἶπε, and ch. 149 n. *ἡμεροσκόποι*

As to the Spartan code of honour, cf. ch. 104.

5. ἀρχὴν, 'expressly': their 'express purpose' was that for which they had *originally* set out. Cf. ch. 218 n.

6. ταύτῃ...εἰμι. From a comparison of the phrases ταύτῃ πλείστοι γνώμην (i. 120), ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ (Thucyd. iii. 38), it appears that ταύτῃ is adverbial; cf. ch. 143, ταύτῃ ἀποφαίνομενοι. τῇ γνώμῃ, 'in opinion', = γιγνώσκων. πλείστος εἰμι, 'I incline to' (the greatest part of me is). Hence lit. 'Thither rather do I incline in judgment'. Bähr emends to τὴν γνώμην.

ταύτῃ, for τῇδε, is explained by Λεωνίδην...ἔχειν.

10. μένοντι κ.τ.λ. The words express the facts as they pictured themselves to the king's mind; this explains the Imperf. He felt that, while he remained at his post, a store of glory was being laid up for him, and the welfare of Sparta was being saved from annihilation.

end of

15. γινίσθαι...ἀπολίσθαι. The Aorist, instead of the Future, Infin. represents the 'Prophetic Present' of direct speech; cf. infr. *πέρθεται*, and ch. 6 (21) n. For the idea compare ch. 167, Hamilcar's sacrifice, and the conduct of the Decii in Roman history.

17. λέγοντα. Cf. II. 133, *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα* κ.τ.λ. (Stein).

19. αὐτῷ ἐρικυδέες. A strange 'synzesis', -ν and ε must be run into one another.

21. Λακεδαίμονος οὖρος. οὖρος may mean (1) *guardian*, (2) *hill*, Ion. for *δρος*, (3) *boundary*, Ion. for *δρος*. Comparing ch. 141, *Κέκροπος οὖρος*, in another oracle, we may assume that the word has the same meaning in both passages. In ch. 141 sense (1) is quite unsuitable, as Cecrops would himself be a 'guardian' of Attica. In this passage, on the other hand, (2) would be inappropriate, for Sparta lay in a valley, *κοιλῇ Λακεδαίμων*. We may therefore reasonably conclude that (3), a meaning applicable in both cases, is the right one. 'The boundary of Lacedaemon' means all that lies within that boundary.

22. τὸν, i.e. τὸν βάρβαρον, the enemy who, though unnamed, is foremost in the mind of both priestess and inquirers.

ταύρων...λεόντων. Some see here a reference to the lions and wild oxen of ch. 125, 126. We can hardly believe that the lion and the ox are more than emblems of physical strength.

24. τῶνδ' ἔτερον. The king or the city.

διδ, with *δάσσηται*. πάντα, wholly. *divine, disinterested*

25. δῆ. Resumptive: the indirect speech is still an explanation of ταύτη.

βουλόμενον...Σπαρτιηρέων. I. The natural way of translating the Greek, as it stands, is:—'Eager to lay up a store of glory for himself alone among Spartans'. The objection to this rendering is that the consequence of the desire, i.e. his dismissal of the *allies*, may seem not altogether logical, especially as the 300 who remained with him were all Spartiatae. On the other hand, it may be urged, that Leonidas

was thinking of the oracle, which required the sacrifice of *one Spartan king*, and hoped that by his unprecedented and individual act of self devotion he might purchase the deliverance of the Spartans, as a nation. For this purpose the presence of the allies was no longer an advantage.

II. The meaning which would best suit the context might seem to be:—‘Eager to store up glory for the Spartans only’; and this is the sense in which the spurious Plutarch takes the passage. De Malig. Her. § 31.

To express this meaning, we should expect *μούνων Σπαρτιητέων*, an emendation adopted by Bekker; although it might perhaps be argued, that the usage of the adv. for the more common adjective is justified by passages like the following: Thucyd. vi. 54, *εικοστήν μόνον πρᾶσσόμενοι*. Ib. 56, *ἐν ᾗ μόνον ἡμέρα*. Apart, however, from this consideration, the gen. comes awkwardly after *κλέος καταθέσθαι*. A dat. would have seemed more natural.

III. We might feel inclined to meet the objections to *μούνων* and *Σπαρτιητέων* by translating:—‘Desiring simply to win *glory* for the Spartans’ (i.e. without hope of success); but here again we have the difficulty of the gen., and indeed the meaning does not come naturally from the order of the words.

All things considered, version I. seems the best.

27. *μᾶλλον*. A repetition of *μᾶλλον* (*τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι*).

28. *οὕτω*, i.e. *γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας*. Cf. ch. 119 n.

οἰχέσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. Cf. ch. 175, *ἤλωσαν οἱ ἄλόντες*.

221 3. *τὸν μάντιν*. It was common for a seer to accompany a Greek host, cf. ch. 6 (16). The prophets of Acarnania were specially celebrated: one of these had encouraged Pisistratus in his attempt upon Athens, i. 62.

5. *Μελάμπεδος*. Introducer of the rites of Dionysus into Greece, ii. 49.

7, 8. *ἀποπέμπτων—ἀποπεμπόμενος*. ‘Tentative’ presents. Cf. ch. 139 (8) n.

9. *ἀπέλιπε*. The majority of mss. here read *ἀπελίπετο*, but as the Middle of this compound is not used by Hdt. in the sense of ‘departing’ or forsaking, which is clearly required here, I have followed Bähr in reading *ἀπέλιπε*. The following

το- in τὸν may have caused confusion. For the simple λείπεσθαι cf. ch. 8 (18).

6. **ἀέκοντες...καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι.** Cf. ch. 8 (23), *τιμωρήν* 222 κ. τίσω. 'He (Leonidas) knew that, if they survived this day, they would only serve to swell the ranks of the Persians', Curt. Perhaps he also hoped that the death of these 400 would create in Thebes a repugnance to Persia, and in the mind of Xerxes irritation against Thebes.

10. **καταμείναντες.** The aorist marks their remaining as a single act following on one definite resolution.

1. **ἡλίου ἀνατελάντος σπονδάς.** Cf. ch. 54, *ὡς δ' ἔπα-* 223 *νέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος σπένδων κ.τ.λ.* For *ἐποίησατο*, 'had made', cf. ch. 29 (4).

2. **ἐπισχῶν χρόνον.** 'After a pause.' Cf. ix. 49, *ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ ἐπισχῶν χρόνον...ἀπαλλάσσετο.*

ἐς...πληθῶρην. The forenoon, from about 9 to 11 A.M. Cf. iv. 181, where *ἀγορῆς πληθουσύσης* is placed between *δρόρον* and *μεσημβρίην*, and ii. 104, where *ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος* also precedes *μεούσα ἡμέρη*. For similar expressions cf. *supra* *περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς*, and the Homeric *βουλευτόνδε*.

3. **πρόσοδον.** Cf. ch. 212.

9. **τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον.** For this phrase cf. the examples quoted ch. 62 (1) n. *πρὸς τὸν θάνατον (defile, narrow pass) -*

11. **τοῦ αὐχένος.** Hdt. uses this word of any narrow tract, whether of land or water; cf. iv. 89, *τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα*, and iv. 85, of the Bosphorus. *ἡνίκα πάντες περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Πέρσες*

τὸ μὲν γὰρ...ἐφυλάσσετο. The defence of the wall was their real object, and behind it lay their position; nevertheless even on the previous days they had advanced as far as 'the narrows in front' near the Phoenix, and now they proceeded still further, and attacked the Persians before the latter had reached these narrows.

16. **ἔχοντες μαστίγας,** cf. ch. 22, 56. The theory of Xerxes given in ch. 103 is now put to the test.

20. **ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδείς.** Cf. ch. 170, *οὐκ ἔπην ἀριθμός.*

14, 15, 23. **ἐμάχοντο—ἐπιπτον—ἀπεδείκνυντο.** The changes of subject are harsh, but the sense is perfectly clear. Cf. ch. 88, 210.

24. παραχρῶμενοι. 'Acting recklessly', without forethought. Cf. iv. 159, ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον... Ἕλληνων καὶ παραχρῶμενοι. So also with an acc., to 'treat recklessly', or carelessly; cf. viii. 20, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμόν.

25. ἀτόντες. A still stronger word, used in the same sense of frantic boldness, II. xx. 332.

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4. πόνψ. Cf. ch. 190 n.

7. ἀξίων. Cf. ch. 96, ἐπ' αἷσι.

8. ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. The names were recorded at Sparta.

15. οἶκον, 'substance'. Cf. L. and S. οἰκία.

16. ἐπέδωκε. The regular word for giving as *dower*, as ἐκδιδόναι is for giving *in marriage*.

ωσ. Ch. 1 (18) n.

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1. δῆ. Resumptive: the brothers of Xerxes are doubtless the sons of Darius first mentioned. Blakesley would have us suppose them a fresh pair.

2. ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ. We are reminded of the Homeric contests over the bodies of fallen chiefs.

3. ὠθισμός. ^{struggle, contest} Of a close mêlée. Cf. ix. 62, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν. Metaphorically viii. 78, ὠθισμός λόγων πολλός. So also iii. 76, ὠθίξεσθαι, to dispute.

4. ἀρετῇ, 'by their bravery'. No one can fail to be struck by the simplicity of these wonderfully grand and vivid chapters. Great as is the opportunity for eulogy and national glorification, Hdt. scarcely uses a word of praise; he leaves the facts to speak for themselves.

6. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκε. 'This mêlée lasted.' Cf. ch. 142.

8. τὸ νεῖκος. ^{quarrel, struggle, strife,} Homeric, in this sense. ^{well fought}

11. ἵκοντο, 'stationed themselves'. Cf. viii. 52.

τὸν κολωνόν. A conical hillock standing in the very narrowest part of the Pass, identified by Leake.

13. ὁ λίθινος λέων. The lion was apparently extant in the time of the Emperor Tiberius; the following inscription was written for it by Simonides:

Θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγώ, θνατῶν δ' ὃν ἐγώ νῦν
φρουρῶ τῷδε τάφῳ λαῖνψ ἐμβεβαώς.

‘Αλλ’ εἰ μὴ θυμὸν γε Λέων ἐμὸν ὡς ὄνομ’ εἶχεν,
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ’ ἐπέθηκα πύδας.

Apart from the allusion to the name *Leonidas*, a lion is said to have been the device of the Spartan kings.

ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ‘In honour of L.’ Cf. Od. xxiv. 91, ἐπὶ σοι κατέθηκε... ἄεθλα *might mean “ou”*

The bones of Leonidas were afterwards carried to Sparta by Pausanias.

A different and highly improbable account of the battle is given by Diodorus, who makes the Greeks, on hearing of their betrayal, attack the Persian camp, threaten Xerxes, and there meet their end.

2. ὅμως. Where all were heroes, it might have seemed 226 impossible to name the bravest.

8. αἰτῶν, i.e. τῶν βαρβάρων.

9. τὸν δέ. Anacolouthic, as is often the case after a parenthesis or long sentence.

10. πάντα ἀγαθὰ, ‘sheer gain’. Cf. Eur. Med. 453, πᾶν κέρδος ἡγοῦ ζημιουμένη φυγῇ (deem it sheer gain that you are, etc.).

14. ἔπεια. Cf. ch. 143.

3. τοῖσι...ὄχεσθαι. Lit. who died before being sent away 228 etc., i.e. ‘whose death forestalled their dismissal’. Such illogical expression is not uncommon. Cf. the superlative with ἄλλων, ch. 176 n. Stein supposes the omission of τοὺς συμμαχοὺς.

5. γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. Cf. ch. 220.

6. μυριάσιν τρικοσίαις. In round numbers; Hdt. himself estimates the whole fighting force, marine included, at less than three millions. Cf. ch. 185.

7. χιλιᾶδες τέτροpes. The Thespians are probably here included. Counting these, and excluding the Thebans and Opuntian Locrians, whose numbers are not given, the total would amount to 3800, in round numbers 4000. From viii. 25 we learn that many Helots were among the slain, but these would not be counted. The monument, though specially dedicated to those who fell on the spot, was plainly a memorial of the whole defence of the Pass and of all who fought there.

8. τοῖσι πᾶσι. The whole army; cf. ch. 153 on τοῦ ἅπαντος.

10. ἀγγέλλειν. Cf. ch. 141 n.

Cicero (Tusc. i. 42) gives this rendering:

*Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*

13. Μεγιστία. Doric gen.

17. ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ στήλῃσι. Separate epitaphs in memory of the Thespians and Locrians are also extant:—

(1) Ἄνδρες τοί ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος
Λήματα τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος.

(2) Τούσδε ποθεῖ φθιμένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων
Μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυνόμων Ὀπείεις.

Cf. Stein s. l. Strabo mentions five στήλαι in all, p. 425. The death of Leonidas in special was a favourite theme for epigrams; see the Anthology.

ἔξω ἤ. ἤ with acc. replaces the customary gen. Cf. ch. 29, ἔξω σευ.

20. Σιμωνίδης ὁ Δεωπρέπεις, ὁ Κῆρος of v. 102. All three inscriptions are ascribed to him, but for the two former he was no doubt paid; the last, at any rate, he set up at his own expense.

229 3. κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι. So simply κοινῷ λόγῳ, i. 141, ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. Cf. κοινολογεῖσθαι, 'to make common cause with', vi. 23.

4. μεμετιμένοι. The reduplicated preposition is very remarkable; this form occurs three times in Hdt. Cf. v. 108, vi. 1.

6. κατεκέατο, 'were laid up'. Notice the difference between the Greek idiom and our own; cf. κατεσθίειν, to eat up, also δεῖν ἐκ, fasten on to, ἐγ-καταλιπεῖν, leave out, pass over. Cf. iii. 119.

12. τὸν ἐλωτα. The Helot told off to be his special θέρᾶπων. The numbers of the Helots at Thermopylae is uncertain; in the Plataean army each Spartan was attended by seven.

15. λειποψυχέοντα, 'failing in courage', usually of swooning.

16. *λειφθῆναι*, 'stayed away'. Cf. ch. 8 (18) n.
εἰ μὲν ἦν... Σπάρτην, 'if it had been that A. only, etc.' Cf. ch. 128 (18), *εἰ ἐστὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν*, where *ἐστὶ* = *ἔξεστι*.
18. *κομιδῆν*, 'return', frequently of retreat, safe escape. Cf. ch. 170, viii. 19, 108.
19. *μῆνιν... προσθέσθαι*. Cf. iv. 65, *πόλεμόν οἱ προσεθήκαντο*. *προσέθεντο*, *εἶχε* have been attracted into the Infin. by *δοκεῖν*. Cf. ch. 148 n.
21. *τῆς αὐτῆς...* the very same, i.e. not a whit more urgent; cf. ch. 209, n. on *τοσοῦτοι*.
ἐχομένου. Cf. ch. 5 (7). = *clung to* - *ω. part. gen.*
5. *καταλαβεῖν... γινομένην*, 'to find the battle still raging'. 230
 Cf. *καταλαμβανόμενοι*, 'when overtaken', ch. 211. Cf. also ch. 38 (11) n.
2. *δνειδος*. Reproach, as distinguished from material dis- 231
 grace.
3. *ἀτιμίην*. *ἀτιμία* varied at Sparta according to the nature of the offence and circumstances; thus a milder form was inflicted on the returned Sphacterian captives, while the survivors of Leuctra were left unpunished owing to political considerations.
4. *οὔτε... ἔναυε*. Symbolical of entire exclusion from all intercourse with the rest of the citizens; under ordinary circumstances the giving of fire was a sacred duty.
5. *ὁ τρέσας*. 'The fugitive', in the Homeric sense. Cf. Tyrtæus, Fr. x. 14:
τρεσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.
7. *ἀνέλαβε*, 'retrieved'. Cf. viii. 109, *ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα*. v. 121, *τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβον*. Soph. Ph. 1249, *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀσυχρὰν ἁμαρτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν πειράσσομαι*.
- For the gallant death of Aristodemus at Plataea, cf. ix. 71. Although in the opinion of Hdt. the bravest of those who fell in the battle, he was granted no public honours, as having courted death for its own sake.
1. *ἄλλον*, with *τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων*. 232
3. *ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι*. For the different constructions 233
 with *ἐχεσθαι*, cf. ch. 128 n.
8. *χείρας προτείνειν*. A common sign of submission; cf.

Thucyd. iv. 38, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, and the Lat. *manus dare*.

10. ἐν πρώτοις. Cf. ch. 132.

12. τοῦ τρώματος. Frequently in Hdt. of a bloody fight; cf. ch. 236, viii. 66, τὸ τρώμα τὸ Λακωνικόν (of Thermopylae), but in vi. 132 of the victory of Marathon; cf. πόρος, ch. 190.

15. τῶν λόγων, i.e. of the truth of their words. The Thessalians were already with the Persians.

19. ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα. Branding on the forehead was the special punishment of runaway slaves, and as such the Thebans might be considered, being found in arms against the Great King after having yielded him submission. Cf. ix. 113, where the devotees of a certain god are branded with στίγματα ἱρά.

21. χρόνῳ μετέπειτα, B.C. 431. For a full account of this seizure of Plataea, with which the Peloponnesian war opened, cf. Thucyd. ix. 2—5. According to Thucydides, Eurymachus, ἀνὴρ Θηβαίων δυνατώτατος, had negotiated the betrayal of Plataea with a faction in the city, though not actually in command of the Theban force, and was among the 180 afterwards put to death by the Plataeans.

22. τετρακοσίων, ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων. Thucyd. l. c.

234 3. ἐνθὲνδε. From this point, i.e. 'thus'.

5. τῇ ἀληθείῃ, 'from your truthfulness'.

6. οὕτω, i.e. ὡς εἶπας.

7. τοιοῦτοι. Cf. ch. 29 (17) n.

8. εἴτε = ἢ εἰ, as though answering to a previous εἴτε instead of ὁκόσοι.

9. πλήθος—πολλόν. Predic. 'The whole body of L. form a large multitude.' Cf. ch. 188 n.

12. ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχίλων. 8000 warriors; of these, 5000 fought at Plataea, ix. 10. Lycurgus, according to tradition, divided the land into 9000 equal κληροί, to be held by the several Spartan families in return for military service to the State. The number of Spartans able to fulfil the strict requirements of the Lycurgan military discipline must therefore have already diminished. During the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 418) they fell to 6000. Cf. ch. 205 note.

17. τὰς διεξόδους, 'the ins and outs'.

1. εἰ...δὴ, 'since indeed'.

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2. συμβουλευέαι. Cf. ch. 237 (15).

3. εἰ ἀποστελείας. Cf. ch. 160 (13) n.

6. Χῳων. One of the Seven wise men. Cf. i. 59, where we learn that he warned the future father of Pisistratus against marrying.

7. κέρδος μέζον...μᾶλλον ἤ. Cf. ch. 50 (7) n.

11. πάντα, every, i.e. 'any'. The fears of Chilon found their justification in the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians seized and garrisoned the island, B.C. 424.

13. ὀρμώμενοι φοβέοντων, sc. οἱ ἐν ταῖς νηυσί. Cf. ch. 147. For ὀρμώμενοι, cf. ch. 22 (5) n.

17. ἦδη. Marking the step from ἀλικομένης to καταδουλώσεως. Cf. ch. 184.

18. ταῦτα, i.e. what I advise, i.q. infra ἐκεῖνο.

21. συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί. Cf. ch. 148.

1. Ἀχαιμένης. Cf. ch. 7.

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5. ἐκδεκόμενον, 'listening (with approbation) to'. Cf. infr. ch. 237.

6. προδιδοί. 'Tentative'; cf. viii. 128. Thus frequently in Thucyd. of treacherous negotiations.

8. τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν...στυγέουσι. The idea of prosperity unassailed by envy was almost inconceivable to the Greek mind. πρὸς τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει was a common sentiment.

9. τὸ κρέσσον, i.q. τοὺς κρέσσονας. Cf. τὸ Λακωνικὸν, supra. ἐπὶ...τύχησι, 'to add to our present disasters', 'after', as a climax.

10. τῶν νῆες, 'of those ships, of which....' Stein reads ἐκ τῶν.

14. δυσμεταχείριστος γίνεται. γίνεσθαι is often almost equivalent to a future, inasmuch as it expresses the process of summing up, ending in the result which follows from what has been stated. Cf. the regular use in addition of numbers. See ch. 184, 185.

19. γνώμην ἔχε. 'Resolve to'; more frequently, γν. ἔχειν with the Infin. is 'to believe that'.

20. τῇ στήσονται. Cf. ch. 175.

25. τὸ παρὲν τῷμα, i.e. the loss of Leonidas and his 300.
- 237 3. ταῦτα. Cf. ch. 235.
4. ἔλπεται, 'deems'. Cf. ch. 192.
6. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κ.τ.λ. These words are a defence of γνώμη. D.'s error was merely one of *judgment*.
8. τῷ ἰόντι. Cf. ch. 209, the (general) truth.
10. τῇ σιγῇ. 'By his silence', i.e. by preserving a malicious silence.
12. πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι. Cf. ch. 157 n.
15. συμβουλευομένου—συμβουλεύσει. συμβουλεύεσθαι, to consult; συμβουλεύειν, to give advice.
17. τινα. The warning is none the less significant for its indirectness. Cf. ch. 48 (9) n.
- 238 3. ἐκέλευσε κ.τ.λ. Pausanias was urged to avenge these insults on the body of Mardonius after Plataea, but indignantly rejected the advice, ix. 78.
8. γὰρ ἄν, 'for else'.
9. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ. Cambyses had nevertheless outraged the body of Amasis with even greater malice, iii. 16. For Persian admiration of valour, cf. ch. 181.
- 239 1. Ἄνειμι κ.τ.λ. Cf. ch. 138, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.
- τοῦ λόγου. Partitive, 'to that point in my narrative'.
- ἐκέλευσε, ch. 220.
2. ἐξέλιπε. Fell short, was incomplete. ἐπιλείπειν (ch. 43) and ἀπολείπειν (ch. 117) are more commonly used intransitively.
4. οὔτω, i.e. πυθόμενοι.
5. τὸ ἐς Δελφούς. Ch. 37 (9) n.
8. τὸ οἰκός. Cf. ch. 167.
9. συμμάχεται. Cf. v. 65, συντυχίη...σύμμαχος. iv. 47, τῶν ποταμῶν ἑόντων συμμάχων, and supra ch. 5, ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός.
10. πάρεστι. 'It is in our power', cf. ch. 229 παρὲν. 'We, knowing what we do of D., are in a position to judge', etc.
11. καὶ, not 'also', but 'even', or 'actually'.
16. δελτίον δέπτυχον. A folding tablet of wax preserved in a wooden frame, the outside also being of wood. Cf. the

device of Histiaeus, who made his slave's head serve the purpose of a δελτίον, v. 35.

25. ἐπιφρασθείσα, 'having discovered' (the contrivance). Cf. iv. 200, τὰ δρύγματα...ἀνεύρε ὧδε ἐπιφρασθείς.

αὐτῇ, 'by her own wit'.

26. καὶ εὐρήσαιν. Cf. ch. 220.

28. ἐπελέξαντο. Cf. ch. 7 (1) n.

29. ἐπέστειλαν, 'sent the news'. Cf. III. 40, γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τάδε, ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. Cf. ἐπιστολή, originally a message, or injunction, hence later, 'a letter'.

This was not the first occasion on which the wit of Gorgo had proved of service to Sparta. It was her childish exclamation, when only eight or nine years of age, which roused her father to give a resolute refusal to the offered bribes of Aristagoras the Ionian, v. 51.



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APPENDIX.

DIALECT.

So little can be stated with absolute certainty about the dialect of Herodotus that the matter is not an easy one to handle in an elementary work. A rough and necessarily imperfect sketch of Herodotean usages is, therefore, all that has been attempted. This may, it is hoped, be sufficient to guide the student to some extent, without perplexing him too much with debateable points and varying forms. In very few and those simple cases only has any philological explanation been referred to. For this purpose free use has been made of Krüger's 'Griechische Sprachlehre', 5th ed. Leipzig, 1875; also of Merzdorff's *Essays in Curtius' Studien*, and G. Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*, 2nd ed.

The great difficulty in determining the true reading in the text of Herodotus is caused chiefly by two facts:—

(1) That while Ionic Greek itself consisted of four different dialects, our author in all probability used a literary form of speech, which did not exactly correspond to the colloquial language of any of these as found in inscriptions. How far, therefore, inscriptions should be used as a standard, is still an open question (*Erman Curtius' Studien*, v.).

(2) The very great variety of readings, and the inconsistencies of the mss., and, above all, the fact that we cannot altogether trust the authority of any one of the mss., since there is good reason to believe that the text was tampered with at a very early date by grammarians and copyists, who tried to reconcile the forms of Hdt. with their own theories, and with known Homeric or Attic usage.

A. VOWELS.

I. *Attic α*.

$\bar{\alpha}$, frequently represented by Herodotean η ,

e.g. *σοφία, νεινίης, θώρηξ, (ἀήρ) ἡέρος, λίην, πρήσσω*.

repr. by η ,

e.g. *διπλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος*.

α repr. by ϵ . This only occurs with ρ . The original (ξ) 'sonant r' is found here in its strong form $\epsilon\rho$, instead of its weak form $\alpha\rho$.

e.g. *ἔρσην, τέσσερες*.

II.

- repr. by α. Here too α represents a 'sonant' liquid in its weaker form.
 μεγ^αθος, τμ^ανω, τρ^αω, give
 μέγαθος, τάμνω, τράπω.
 ε repr. by ε before semi-vowels,
 e.g. ξείνος (ξένος from ξεν^εος), εἰρωτᾶν.
 εἰρομαι (ἐργομαι), εἰσακόσιοι (ἐννα from
 repr. by η,
 e.g. βασιλητή, ἀληθ^ητή (ἀληθε(σ)ιη).

For a full discussion of this last point, see Joha¹ Bezenberger's Beiträge, 15. 175.

III.

- repr. by α,
 e.g. λάξις, μεσαμβρίη, λέλασμαι.
 η repr. by ε,
 e.g. ἔσσω (perhaps fr. analogy to κρέσσω,
 ἔσσοῦσθαι).

IV.

- ι, repr. by ιη. Probably due to mixture of ī and i
 e.g. πολιήτης.
 ιε, repr. by ι,
 e.g. ἱρὸς (probably fr. ιο-ρος. Att. ἱερὸς fr.
 form ιο-ερος).

V.

- repr. by α. Here too the change is due to α 's
 appearing in its weakest form αρ, instead
 stronger ορ.
 e.g. ἀρρωδέω.
 ο repr. by ε,
 e.g. πεντηκόντερος (-ορ and -ερ alike com
 'row').
 repr. by ου, esp. before λ, ν, ρ, σ. Where
 breathing occurs in Attic, it is lost;
 e.g. οὔνομα, νοῦσος (but νοσέειν), οὔρος (for

N.B. The origin of these forms in ου is different, as
 what doubtful; νοῦσος is probably due to some analo¹
 Meyer p. 90.

VI.

- ω, repr. by ο: ζῶη.

B. DIPHTHONGS.

I.

αυ	{	repr. by ηυ,	
		e.g. γρηῦς, νηῦς.	
		ωυ,	
		e.g. θωῦμα, ἐμεωντοῦ.	
		ω,	
		e.g. τρώμα.	

II.

αι	{	repr. by ε. In <i>adjs.</i> in -ειος, e.g. βόειος, ἐπιτήδεος.	
		In <i>fem.'s of adjs.</i> in -υς, e.g. δασέα (i before foll. vowel became semi-vowel <i>i</i> or <i>y</i> , δασεῖα, thence easily δασέα).	
		In <i>comparatives</i> , e.g. κρέσσων (fr. κρετ-), μέζων (μεγ-ων).	
		In <i>certain forms of δέκνυμι</i> , e.g. δέξω, δέξασθαι, δέξις. (These forms may come from a different root, δεκ-.)	
		In the <i>prep.</i> εἰς, alw. εἰς in Hdt.	
		repr. by ι, e.g. ἱκελος.	

III. ευ repr. by ι, e.g. ἰθὺς. The words are, however, probably distinct.

IV. ου	{	repr. by ευ (and εο, εου, cf. F. (2)), when Att. ου replaces original εο, εου,	
		e.g. ἐμεῦ, ἄγευ, πωλεῦσι.	
		repr. by ω,	
		e.g. γῶν, ὦν.	

For Attic diphthongs formed by contraction see *infra*, F.

C. CONSONANTS.

I. (1) Mutes found for corresponding aspirates in certain cases. δέκομαι for δέχομαι, αῖτις for αῖθις.

(2) Mutes not aspirated before a rough breathing, e.g. οὐκ οὕτως, ἀπ' οὗ, ἀπλήμ, κατὰπερ.

(3) Aspiration found in a different cons., e.g. κιθών, ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν.

II. (1) κ for π in adj. and adv. pronouns, e.g. κότερος, κοῦ, ὀκοῖος, ὀκως, etc. (cf. Doric πόκα, τόκα for πότε, τότε etc.). [N.B. κ here represents the q of the original (Indo-Germanic) language.]

(2) δ not alw. changed to σ before μ, as in Attic, e.g. ἰδμεν for ἱσμεν.

(3) ξ for σσ in διξός, τριξός (the words however seem not to be the same, G. Meyer).

D.

Occasional absence of rough breathing, e.g. *ἱρηξ*, *ἥως* (*ἔως*), *διδης* for *ᾗδης*. The unaspirated are here the older forms.

E.

- (a) 'Prothetic vowel' missing,
e.g. *ὀρθή* (Att. *ἐορθή* = *ε-φορτή*).

(b) Final vowel lost before cons. with assimilation of cons.
ἀμβ- for *ἀναβ-*.

F. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.

Where in Attic two or more vowels are contracted into one, or a diphthong, in Hdt. they constantly retain their original form.

(1) α preceding.

α with following vowel generally contracts, or else is replaced by ε, e.g. *νικᾶς*, *τολμᾶ*, *προτιμῶν*, *ᾠρων*, *γέρεα*, *κρεῶν*. See *infra*, viii.

In the following cases α remains uncontr.:

- (1) Where traces of a *F* remain in Homer, *πενταέτης*.

(2) Where α is 'privative', e.g. *ἀλέων*.

(3) Where α is 'prothetic': e.g. *ἄεθλον* etc., *ἀέρω* (N.B. *ἀρθεῖς* and *ἀερθεῖς* both found), *δαίδω*, *δοιδός* (but *χρησιμωδέων*).

(4) In 2nd pers. sing. first aorist mid., e.g. *ἐργάσω* (perhaps from analogy to *ἐγένεο* etc., and because -σα was a recognized mark of the first aorist), and in other verbal forms where required for clearness, e.g. *δεδάηκε* (*ἀδαήμων*) *κατεκάη*.

(2) ε preceding.

εα as a general rule remains uncontr.: e.g. *ἔρεα*, *ἔαρ*, *ἐπεῶν*, *ὑγιέα*, *ὑπερφύεας*.

εεα becomes εα, one ε falling out: e.g. *ἐνδέα*.

Exc.: *ἦν* (*always*), *ἦλω*, *ἦνδανε* (*generally*).

εαι, uncontr. *βούλει*.

εαι. Generally *έαι*, but *κομέαι* (vii. 49) is disputed. Stein reads *κομεί*, as ι preceding generally causes contr.

εε, uncontr. *λιπάρεε*, *ἐδέετο*, *ἀδαίεε*.

Exc. (1) after ι, η: e.g. *ἐπισιτισθαι*, *ἐθηέτο*, and probably after ο and υ.

(2) In certain short imperatives: *ᾤθει*, *βοήθει*.

(3) In *ἡμεῖς*, *ὕμεῖς*, *σφεῖς*.

N.B. This rule is not yet absolutely proved.

ει, generally uncontr. e.g. δοκέειν, αἰτέειν, ποιεῖν.

Exc. (1) after ι, η, ο, υ.

(2) In 2nd Aor. Inf. where εειν is incorrect, e.g. βαλεῖν.

(3) In certain short and very common words, as δεῖ, δέειν.

ειη, generally uncontr., but contr. in some verbs, προσθῆ, θῆται, etc.

εο generally remains; sometimes ευ is found, e.g. ἐγένεο, ἐπῖκεο, ἔδς, ἄγευ, πλεῦνας, μαν, σευ, δρευ. ου is never correctly found for εο.

εου remains uncontr., or becomes ευ: e.g. πωλέουσι, ἐπιτελεύσι.

εω (orig. -αο-), uncontr. εεω becomes εω, δοκέω, ἀκλεῶς.

εοι, uncontr. before cons., contr. before vowel, αἰρέοι, ποιοῖτο.

εῖ, uncontr. εἰαῖ, κρανῖνα.

(3) ο preceding.

It may here be given as a general rule, that there is no contraction where the word is obviously, in form and meaning, a compound: e.g. νεοδωτοί, χειροθήτης. In other cases ο contracts with the foll. vowel; e.g. ἐβῶσε, ἐβάθεον, ὀγδόκοντα.

οαυ contracts into ων,

e.g. ἐμωνωτοῦ (hence ἐμωνωτῶ, etc. by analogy).

G. CRASIS.

The forms used by Hdt. in *crasis* should be noticed:

ο and α gen. become ω. ἄνθρωπος, τέρχαιον, so too ου and αυ after ο become ων, τάντοῦ.

ο ἕτερος and τὸ ἕτερον give οὔτερος and οὔτερον; for loss of asp. cf. C. I.

H. ACCIDENCE.

I. *The Article*. As in Att.; exc. that the locative forms τοῖσι, τῇσι are used for the dat. pl. For the relative and demonstrative use of the art. see Notes, ch. 6.

II. 1st Decl. Fem. -η -ης -η -ης } Pl. -αι -εων -ησι -ας.
-α -αν }

Masc. -ης -εω -η -ης, Pl. -αι -εων -ησι -ας.

Dual not used.

N.B. Gen. Masc. -εω=αο=α(σ)ο, cf. F. (1).

For long ā becoming -η cf. A. I. θεά and some proper names are exc.

Note A. Some words have 'heteroclitic forms' (formed fr. a dif. stem). δεσπότης, acc. δεσπότην and δεσπότηα. So κυ-

βερνήτεια, ἀκινάκην and ἀκινάκεια, -εος -ῆ and -εῖ, acc. pl. -εας. Also many proper names in -ῆς have acc. in -εα. Ζέρξεα.

III. 2nd Decl. As in Att. Dat. pl. in -οισι.

N.B. Forms found in -εων for gen. pl. are almost certainly corrupt.

IV. Attic Decl. Used regularly in certain proper names, e.g. Μενέλεως. For Att. νεώς, λεώς, λαγώς, κάλως, Hdt. uses νηός, ληός, λαγός, κάλος. N.B. τὸν λεῶν also occurs.

V. 3rd Decl.

There is little to notice here.

Stem ὁδοῦ- gives nom. ὁδὸν for Att. ὁδούς.

 " μῆν- has " μέλς " μῆν.

ἀπολις (Att. stem ἀπολιδ-) gives dat. ἀπόλι.

Θέτις (" " Θετιδ-) " " Θέτι.

ἀχαρις (" " ἀχαριτ-) " " ἀχάρι.

Stems in -ει declined as ε stems:

e.g. πόλις -ιος -ῖ -ιν— -ιες -ίων -ισι(ν) -ῖς (-ιας).

N.B. Dat. sg. -ει, nom. pl. -ις and -εις, and acc. pl. -εις which occur (rarely) in the mss. are probably erroneous.

In -ευ. πῆχυς -εος -εῖ -ιν— -εες -εων -εσι -εας.

ἄστυ -εος -εῖ -ν— -εα -εων -εσι -εα.

In ιχθὺς -ύος etc. Hdt. follows Attic usage. The acc. pl. λίβυας, ιχθύας, ὀφρύας occur (rarely).

In -ες. These are declined regularly without contr., e.g. τριήρεος, -εα, τείχεος, τείχει etc.

In -ες, contr. as in Attic: Γοργούτ.

In -ην. βασιλεύς -έος -εῖ -έα— -έες -έων -εῦσι -έας.

νηὺς (Att. ναῦς), νεός, νητ, νέα— νέες, νεῶν, νηυσί, νέας.

Forms with -ῆ, νῆες, etc. do occur; also acc. pl. ναῦς.

VI. Adjectives.

For adjs. in -εος see F. (2). Those in -οος also remain uncontr.: διπλός -όη -όον, though varying forms are found.

For fem. adjs. in -υς see B. II.

The foll. forms, which differ from the Attic, should be noted:—

πολλός -ῆ -όν, πλέος, ἀξιάχρεος, σόος, σῶος, ζῶος, also these comparatives:—

πλέων, πλέωνος, πλεύνος or (πλεούς).

ταχύτερος.

σπουδαιέστερος.

VII. Pronouns.

1st pers. gen. ἐμέ, ἐμοῦ and μοῦ, Pl. gen., acc., ἐμὲν, ἐμῶν.

2nd pers. gen. σέ and σεῦ, dat. σοι and τοι, Pl. gen., acc. ὑμέων, ὑμῶν.

3rd pers. ἐς or εἰ, αἱ, ἐ or αὐ, Pl. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigmaφῆς \\ \sigmaφῆν σφέων, σφῆσιν and σφί, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \sigmaφῆας \text{ and } \sigmaφε \\ \sigmaφῆα \end{array} \right.$.$

The Rel. pron. ὅς, ἡ, τὸ—αἱ, αἱ, τὰ is used as well as the article H. I.

Interrog. (and Indef.) Pron.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} τίς \\ τί \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τέος and τεῶ, τίνα, τέων or τῶ} \\ \text{τῆ, τῆς} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνα.} \\ \text{τῆ.} \end{array}$
 Pl. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνας} \\ \text{τίνα} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τέων, τέοισι} \\ \text{τίνας} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{τίνας} \\ \text{τίνα.} \end{array}$

Rel.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ὅστις} \\ \text{ὅτι} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{ὅτεν, ὅτεν} \\ \text{ὅτι} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{ὅτινα, ᾗτινα} \\ \text{ὅτι} \end{array}$.

Pl. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{αἵτινες, αἵτινες} \\ \text{ἄσσα} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{ὅτιν, ὅτιοισι} \\ \text{ἄσσα} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{οὐδῆνας} \\ \text{ἄστινας} \\ \text{ἄσσα.} \end{array}$

VIII. The Verb.

A. *The Augment.* The Augment is very frequently dropped, esp. the temporal augment; but the usage is so fluctuating that we shall not attempt to give any rules. For a full discussion of the subject see L'hardy, Quaestiones de Dial. Herod. C. 1. Also Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 109.

B. Flexion.

As stated above, vowels contracted in Attic are found in the full form exc. in certain cases. See F.

N.B. ἐλῶ, σκεδῶ, ἀποδοκμῶ, δικῶ, are however found.

In *Pluperfect Act.* sing. the original endings -ea, -eas, -ee, are used: e.g. ἐώθεα, ἐγεγόνεε.

In *Middle and Passive* 3rd pers. pl. endings -αται, -ατο are largely used.

Originally -νται (primary), -ντο (secondary) appeared after a vowel, -αται, -ατο after a cons. The ν became 'sonant' before the following cons., and so passed into α.

(γεγραφνται = γεγραφῆνται = γεγραφαται).

E.g. φέρονται, ἐφέροντο, γεγράφεται, ἐτετάχατο.

In Hdt. the use of -αται, -ατο is widely extended, being constantly found after vowels; e.g. τιθέαται, ἐδεικνύατο, ἐκεκοσμέατο, ἐλοίατο. In this last the ι is really consonantal, ι.

As may be seen from the examples, these endings are used in Pres., Imperf., Perf., Pluperf., Indic., and Optat.

Verbs in -*αω* change *α* to *ε* before *ε* and *ω*, but contr., as in Attic, before *ε*. Cf. F (1).

E.g.	ὀρέω	ὀρέομεν
	ὀράς	ὀράτε
	ὀρέῃ	ὀρέουσι.

Irreg. forms, *ὀρώμετες*, *ὠρώμεν*, *ὀρέωμεν*, etc. are, however, found. See Johann., Bezz. Beitr. 15. 164. The forms in *ευ* occurring in mss., e.g. *εἰρώμεν*, would seem to be certainly corrupt.

For Verbs in -*εω*, which do not contract, see F. (2).

For Verbs in -*οω*, which contract as in Attic, see F. (3).

Verbs in -*μι* shew many divergences from the Attic forms; we may notice:—

Act. Ind. Pres. *διδούς*, *διδού*, *τιθεῖ*, 3rd pl. *διδούσι*, *τιθεῖσι*, *ιστάσι*, *δεικνύσι*.

Imperf. *ἐρίθεα*, 3rd pers. *ἐρίθεε*.

Subj. Pres. and 2nd Aor. With *ε* uncontr. (in *ε* and *α* stems), *ἀπείωσι*, *θέωμεν*: so in Pass. *δυνέωνται*.

1st Aor. *ἔθηκα*, *ἔδωκα*, *ἦκα* are used both in sing. and pl. exc. 3rd pl. of *ἦκα*.

A particip. *μεμετιμένος*, fr. *μετήμι*, occurs three times.

εἰμί.

Ind. Pres. *εἰμί*, *εἰς*, *ἔστι(ν)*, *εἰμέν*, *ἔστέ*, *εἰσι(ν)*.

N.B. Att. *εἷ* is the older form coming from *ἐ(σ)ι*. In *εἰς* the *ς* is added from analogy to *φῆς*, *τίθης* etc.

Imp. *ἔα*, *ἔατ*, *ἦν*, *ἔην* and *ἔσκε(ν)*, *ἦμεν*, *ἔατε*, *ἔσαν* and *ἦσαν*, *ἔσκον*.

Subj. *ἔω*, *ἔῃ* or *ῆ*, *ἔωσι*.

Optat. The Epic form *ἔοι* occurs once.

Participle with *ε* uncontr., *ἔων* etc.

εἶμι.

Ind. Imp. *ῆα*, *ῆε*, *ῆσαν*.

οἶδα.

οἶδας, *ἰδμεν* and *οἶδαμεν*, *οἶδασι*. The last two forms come through 'levelling' the pl. to the sing.

Imperf. *ᾔδεα*, *ᾔδεε*, *ᾔδέατε*.

Fut. *εἰδήσω*.

Subj. *εἰδέω*.

γίνομαι, not *γίγνομαι*, is always found.

ἦνευκα etc., for *ἦνευκα* etc.

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Bähr. *Herodotus*
(Müller)
Hawley. *Trans. of Herodotus*.
Elin. *Herodotus*.
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Dagm. *Trans. of Xenophon*.
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Colbridge. *Trans. of Euripides*.

Dale's *Thucydides*
Kennedy. *Demosthenes* } *Trans.*

Jowett. *Thucydides* } *Trans.*
Jowett. *Plato* } *UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,*

Plumptre. *Sophocles* } *AUG 24 1912*

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY J. & C. F. CLAY, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Sophocles

